

MANAVAKALPA-SŪTRA;

BEING A PORTION OF THIS ANCIENT WORK ON VAIDIK RITES,

EDITED WITH

THE COMMENTARY OF KUMÁRILA-SWÁMIN.

A FAC-SIMILE OF THE MS. No. 17 IN THE LIBRARY OF HER MAJESTY'S HOME GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

WITH A PREFACE

BY

THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER.

LONDON: N. TRUBNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

BERLIN: A. ANKER AND CO.

(ALBERT COHN AND DANIEL COLLIS.)

MDCCLXI



S/O
294.5924
M 294 K

STEPHEN AUSTIN.



PRINTER, NEWFORD.

3783

G. no 080588

W 103

The Lithograph of the Fac-simile has been executed by Messrs. Standidge and Co. London.

3722

TO

RUDOLF VIRCHOW,

THE GREAT DISCOVERER AND DEFENDER OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THEODOR GOLDSTÜCKER.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE		
1	The Original Manuscript of the Fac-simile	Pāṇini mentions the word <i>ṭipīkārā</i> , "a writer"
3	The Fac-simile traced by Miss Amelia Rattenbury	<i>Peśaśā</i> , the name of a division of Sanskrit works, is a further proof that writing was known
4	Contents of the Manuscript	in ancient India
7	Contents of another Manuscript of the Māva-Kalpa-Sūtra	A further proof is derived from the words <i>kāpā</i> and <i>peśā</i> , <i>sātra</i> and <i>grantha</i>
8	The Commentary of Kumārila	Definition of the word <i>Sātra</i>
9	Connection between the Kalpa-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā and the Mīmāṃsā	<i>Note</i> .—Objection to the promiscuous use made in Professor Müller's quotations, of
10	Author of the Māva-Kalpa-Sūtra	the Sūtras of Pāṇini and the commentaries on them. Objection to his state-
12	'Date of this work'	ment concerning the instances to Pāṇini's Grammar
	LITERARY AND CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING EVERY WORK OF THE VĀDIK	Probable origin of the Sūtra Literature
13	1. LITERATURE, AND THEREFORE HEADING ON THE PRESENT RITUAL BOOK	Oscillations of Professor Weber caused by the word <i>grantha</i> . Doubts of Professor Müller
	Professor Müller holds that the art of writing was not yet known in India when Pāṇini	concerning the occurrence of this word in Pāṇini. Meaning of this word
	lived, or according to him, about 350 B.C.; and that there is not a single word in	<i>Note</i> .—The nursery book <i>Śikṣasādhya</i> is considered by Professor Weber to be an
	Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes his knowledge of writing	epic poem and a forerunner of the Rāmāyaṇa
15-67	REPERCUSSION OF THIS VIEW	Needlessness of the doubts of Professor Müller in reference to the word <i>grantha</i>
15	The Civilisation of India as depicted in the R̥gveda	<i>Note</i> .—Critical means of ascertaining whether a Sūtra of Pāṇini be genuine or not.
16	<i>Yacñasā</i> , probably the cuneiform writing, was known to Pāṇini	Uncritical assertions made by Dr. Boeddingh on this subject, in his reprint of
		the Cakratta edition of Pāṇini. Only three or four Sūtras out of 3998 do not
		belong to Pāṇini

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The meaning of <i>grantha</i> in a passage from the Mahābhārata.....	31
<i>Note</i> .—On the names of the leading characters in this poem, as occurring in the “ Sūtras of, and the commentaries on, Pāṇini	32
The phrase <i>grantha</i> ‘ <i>grantha</i> ’, compared with <i>kaṭha</i> and <i>paṭha</i>	33
Professors Müller and Weber assume that the word <i>carpa</i> does not mean a written letter.— <i>Definition of this view</i>	34—43
<i>Carpa</i> and <i>kaṭha</i> mean a letter of the alphabet.....	35
Use of the two words in the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali	36
<i>Note</i> .—And in the Kāṭhā, etc.	37
Difference between the two words	38
Difference between <i>carpa</i> and <i>kaṭha</i>	39
The meaning of <i>spandita</i>	40
Difference between <i>carpa</i> , <i>kaṭha</i> , <i>karva</i> and <i>akara</i>	42
The word <i>akara</i> is a further proof that Pāṇini was acquainted with writing	44
A further proof results from his technical terms <i>seer-iet</i> and <i>seer-dittet</i> , and from the word <i>seer-ia</i> in Pāṇini’s rule I. 3, 11	45
An unhappy reference of Professor Weber	46
<i>Note</i> .—An insight into the character of Dr. Boehling’s “ <i>edition</i> ” of Pāṇini. An extraordinary explanation given by him, of the Sūtra I. 3, 11	47
Kātyāyana, Patanjali and Kāṭyāyana on Sūtra I. 3, 11	52
The commentary of these grammarians proves that Pāṇini’s manner of defining an <i>akara</i> would have been impossible without writing.....	54
Written accents were indispensable for Pāṇini’s terminology.....	56
<i>Note</i> .—On the incorrect spelling of the word <i>seer-diti</i>	56
This results from the Dhātupāṭha	55
<i>Note</i> .—On the pronunciation of the vowel <i>ā</i>	57
Even the habit of marking Hindū cattle affords proof of the acquaintance of the Hindūs, in the time of Pāṇini, with the art of writing	59
The words <i>lopa</i> and <i>ēpi</i> , in the Sūtras, are a further proof that Pāṇini had a knowledge of writing.....	60
The Vedas were preserved in writing at Pāṇini’s time	61
<i>Note</i> .—A passage, relating to the mystical powers of the alphabet, from a Chapter of a Dialogue between Śiva and Pārvaṭi.....	63
<i>Note</i> .—A passage from Yājñavalkya, which shows that Manuscripts of the Vedas existed in his time	64
Writing was known before Pāṇini.—Rāhi, a seer of Vaidik hymns	66
<i>Note</i> .—On the title <i>Rāhi</i>	66
Professor Müller holds that there are four distinct periods of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,— the Chhandas, Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods. His distribution of the Ancient Literature over these periods	68
REVIEW OF HIS VIEWS AND OF HIS DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENT LITERATURE.....	68—225
Meaning of the word <i>śāstra</i>	69
Meaning of the word <i>chhandas</i> . Use of both these words in the Sūtras of Pāṇini.....	70
Professor Müller assigns dates to his four periods of Ancient Sanskrit Literature. His oldest date is 1200 B.C.	73
But a quotation, by Colebrooke, from the Jyotiṣa, proves that an arrangement of Vaidik hymns was completed in the 14th century B.C.	74
Professor Weber’s slur on Colebrooke’s accuracy.....	76
Professor Weber’s silence on Lassen’s researches	76

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(vii)

Professor Weber as a personal witness of the progress of the <i>Kṛya</i> in India up to 1500 A.C.	77
Professor Müller holds that the uniform employment of the Anuṣṭubh Śloka marks a new period, viz., the Classical Period of Sanskrit Literature	78
<i>Proof that this view cannot be assented to.</i> —Tittiri and Charaka were authors of Śloka.— Kāṣyapa composed Ślokas, called <i>Ehrāje</i>	79
Kāṣyapa's <i>Karmapradīpa</i> is written in Śloka.—Vyāḍi wrote a work, <i>Saṅgraha</i> , in 100,000 Śloka.—All these authors would belong to Professor Müller's Vaidik period	80
Professor Müller assigns to Kāṣyapa the date 350 A.C., and considers Pāṇini to be his contemporary	81
<i>Refutation of this view</i>	83—213
Dr. Bohtlingk also places Pāṇini about 350 A.C.	85
<i>Proof that the premises which have led to his conclusion are imaginary</i>	86
<i>Note.</i> —An extraordinary view taken by Dr. Bohtlingk of the moral and intellectual condition of ancient India.—The whole of the ancient scientific literature of this country would prove, according to his view, a gigantic swindle and imbecility. Unsatisfactory results concerning the date of Pāṇini	87
<i>Note.</i> —Pāṇini looked upon by the Hindus as a Rishi, in the proper sense of this word	88
<i>An investigation of the position which Pāṇini holds in ancient Sanskrit literature is more likely to lead to a solid result, than speculations as to the real date of his life</i>	89
ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND KĀṬYĀPA, THE AUTHOR OF THE VĀRTIKAS	89—140
The Literature mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.—Grammarians prior to Pāṇini's Grammar.— Authors of Vārtikas later than Kāṣyapa	90

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The <i>Laṅkā</i> of Patañjali	91
<i>Note.</i> —An extraordinary syllogism of Dr. Bohtlingk relative to some authors of Vārtikas	92
<i>Note.</i> —Another extraordinary syllogism of this writer by which <i>śaṭi</i> is metamorphosed into <i>śarīka</i>	93
The Kārikās belong to different authors	94
<i>Note.</i> —A further insight into the value of the statements of Dr. Bohtlingk	95
Various categories of Kārikās	96
Authors of the Kārikās not commented upon by Patañjali	99
Such Kārikās are later than Kāṣyapa's Vārtikas.—Authors of the Kārikās commented upon by Patañjali	100
The method of Patañjali's Great Commentary	101
Repetition of Kārikās	103
Instances of works which are written in verse and commented on, in prose, by their own authors	104
<i>Note.</i> —A valuable contribution to these instances by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall	105
Authors of the Kārikās with imperfect comment in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali	106
Paribhāṣās.—Definition of the word. Its difference from <i>śaṭpāda</i>	107
Definition of <i>paribhāṣā</i> as given by the <i>Purubhottama-vṛtti-ṣiṭh</i> and <i>Vaidyaṇṭha</i>	108
Vaidyaṇṭha's distinction between Paribhāṣās founded on <i>śaṭpāda</i> , and Paribhāṣās founded on <i>śaṭpāda</i>	109
<i>Note.</i> —On the difficulty which these terms have caused to the native grammarians. Uncritical state of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini on this point	110
Paribhāṣās which are anterior to the Vārtikas of Kāṣyapa	111
None of the Paribhāṣā collections in existence is the original collection of Paribhāṣās	111

	PAGE
Paribhāṣas composed by Patañjali	111
The oldest Paribhāṣas are anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini	113
Definition of the term <i>śaṅkha</i>	115
Relation between <i>śaṅkha</i> and <i>paribhāṣa</i>	117
The character of the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana	119
<i>Note</i> .—A substantial conjecture of Professor Weber on the Mahābhāṣya, which has not become real by dint of repetition	121
The character of the Mahābhāṣya. Its relation to Kātyāyana and to Pāṇini	122
A summary view of the criticisms of Kātyāyana	123
Four arguments to prove that Pāṇini must have preceded Kātyāyana	125
<i>First argument</i> .—There are grammatical forms current in the time of Pāṇini which became obsolete or even incorrect in the time of Kātyāyana	126
<i>Second argument</i> .—There are meanings of words, in the time of Kātyāyana, which did not exist in the time of Pāṇini	128
<i>Third argument</i> .—There are words and meanings of words used by Pāṇini which had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana	129
<i>Fourth argument</i> .—There existed a literature in the time of Kātyāyana which was not known to Pāṇini	130
<i>Aranyakas</i> were not known to Pāṇini, but to Kātyāyana	131
The <i>Vijayanī-Saṁhitā</i> and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa were not known to Pāṇini, but to Kātyāyana	132
Professor Weber's first explanation of the Vārtika to Sātra IV. 3, 105	133
Professor Weber's second explanation of the same Vārtika, which destroys the first	134
An analysis of his critical method	135
Professor Müller's explanation of the same Vārtika	136
An analysis of his explanation.—The Vārtika made the foundation of chronological results, by both Professors, is misprinted in the Calcutta edition which supplied them with its text	137
The real meaning of this Vārtika	138
It leads to the conclusion that Pāṇini did not yet know the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa	139
None of the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-works in existence were ancient works from Pāṇini's point of view.—The Kalpa-work of Kātyāyana was not known to Pāṇini	141
The Upanishads were unknown to Pāṇini	142
He was acquainted with the Black Yajur-veda, the R̥g- and Sama-veda	143
He did not know the Atharvaveda	144
Professor Müller's view of what are the oldest R̥gveda hymns.—Objections to his view	145
Pāṇini's theory on the origin of the various versions of the Vaidik hymns	146
<i>Note</i> .—Kātyāyana's and Nāgajibhatta's glosses on Patañjali	149
Pāṇini considers the second Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda, in its present version, to be amongst the less ancient portions of this Veda	150
The six philosophical systems were unknown to Pāṇini.—1. Mīmāṃsā.—2. Vedānta	151
3. Sāṅkhya.—4. Yoga	152
5. Nyāya	153
<i>Note</i> .—A further insight into Dr. Boehlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini	154
Gautama's definition of jāti (<i>genus</i>), kṛti (<i>species</i>), and vyakti (<i>individuals</i>)	155
Pāṇini does not make use of the term <i>dhṛti</i>	156
His term <i>jāti</i> is the same as Gautama's <i>dhṛti</i>	157
<i>Note</i> .—Patañjali and Kātyāyana knew the system of Gautama	158
6. Vaiśaṅhika was unknown to Pāṇini	159

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND THE UṆYĀDI-SŪTRAS.....	168—170
Professor Müller's argument that the Uppādi-Sūtras are anterior to Pāṇini.—Dr. Aufrecht's arguments to the same effect	168
<i>Refutation of these arguments</i>	169
<i>Note</i> .—New Uppādi-Sūtras taken from the Commentary of <i>Nṛsiṅha</i> on the Uppādi-Sūtras, this Commentary being a portion of his <i>Svaramanjari</i>	160
On the critical text by which to judge of the chronological relation of Pāṇini to the Uppādi-Sūtras and other grammatical works	162
Five Sūtras of Pāṇini, the key-stone of his work	163
<i>Note</i> .—A further insight into the character of Dr. Boehtlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini. <i>ib.</i>	164
Patanjali on the technical terms of Pāṇini	165
Kaṣyapa on Patanjali's gloss in question	166
Inferences to be drawn from this gloss as to the originality of certain terms of Pāṇini	169
Application of the text thus obtained to the Uppādi-Sūtras	170
These Sūtras are consequently later than Pāṇini. This is the opinion, also, of Bhattojjī-kabīṣa, Ujjvaladatta and Vimala	171—182
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND THE UṆYĀDI-LIST	171—182
Nairukṭas and Vaiyākaraṇas	171
Patanjali must have looked upon Pāṇini as belonging to Yāska's "some of the Vaiyākaraṇas".	172
<i>Note</i> .—A further insight into the character Dr. Boehtlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini... ..	174
Kātyāyana must have looked upon Pāṇini as belonging to the Nairukṭas.....	<i>ib.</i>
Probability that Nāgajibhatta's attributing the Uppādi to Śākātyāna is erroneous	176
<i>Note</i> .—On the Gaṇaratnamahodadhī of Vardhamāna.—Another insight into the character of Dr. Boehtlingk's "edition" of Pāṇini.....	177

(ix)

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Patanjali's statement that the anubandhas of former grammarians have no anubandha effect in the Grammar of Pāṇini	181
Pāṇini is, consequently, the author of the Uppādi-list.....	<i>ib.</i>
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND THE DHĀTUPĀṬHA.....	182
He is the author of the groundwork of the existing Dhātupāṭha	<i>ib.</i>
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND THE PRĀTISĀKHYES.....	183—213
Professor Müller holds that all the Prātisākhya preceded the Grammar of Pāṇini	184
Professor Roth's view to the same effect. His interesting and graphic account of the rise and progress of Grammar in India.....	185
Unhappily this account is fantastical.....	186
Professor Weber's view of the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya	<i>ib.</i>
Reasons for giving Professor Weber a full hearing	189
The whirlpool. The certain posteriority	190
Professor Weber's fantastical story of the letter <i>ā</i>	191
Dangerous adverbs	192
Professor Müller does not agree with Professor Weber's splitting Kātyāyana into two	193
Professor Müller's own theory on the relation of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya to Pāṇini's Grammar	194
<i>Refutation of all these theories</i>	195—213
Fallacy in the argument that the Prātisākhya are anterior to Pāṇini. The Prātisākhya are no grammars.....	195

(X)

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE	PAGE
Vyākaraṇa is a Vedaṅga, not the Prātisākhya. Difference between the character of the Vyākaraṇa and the Prātisākhya. An <i>a-priori</i> argument for Pāṇini's work having preceded the Prātisākhya	196
Point of contact between both. How far a comparison between both is admissible. Another <i>a-priori</i> argument for the precedence of Pāṇini's work	197
The Rik-Prātisākhya is more complete than Pāṇini's Grammar, so far as both works can be compared at all. Relation of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya to Pāṇini's work	199
Professor Weber schools Kātyāyana for want of practice and skill.—Kātyāyana applies this reproach to Professor Weber by showing him that he did not understand his Prātisākhya. Kātyāyana sometimes repeats the words of Pāṇini merely in order to make his criticisms more prominent	200
Further instances of criticisms of his Prātisākhya on the Grammar of Pāṇini. The value of the censure which Professor Weber assiduously passes on Kātyāyana	202
Coincidences between the Prātisākhya, and the Vārtikas of, Kātyāyana	204
His Prātisākhya was written before his Vārtikas	205
Further proof for the priority of the Grammar of Pāṇini to the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya	206
<i>The historical argument</i>	207
Śaṅkara was not the author of the Rik-Prātisākhya	208
Another word on the critical principles of Professor Weber	209
Patanjali calls Vyāḍi, <i>Dakṣa</i>	210
Pāṇini is the son of <i>Dakṣa</i> ; he therefore preceded Vyāḍi by at least two generations	211
Vyāḍi is quoted in the oldest Prātisākhya; Pāṇini is, therefore, anterior to it. Confirmation of Pāṇini's priority to Vyāḍi by the Laghuparibhāṣāvṛtti and Patanjali	212
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND THE PRĀTISĀKHAS	214—219
Professor Müller holds that these Sūtras have preceded the Grammar of Pāṇini. <i>Refutation of this view</i>	214
A doubt as to the ingenuity of Dr. Boehtlingk	215
Analogy between the Philetrus and the Prātisākhya	216
Further analogy between the Philetrus and the Prātisākhya. Śāntana belongs to the eastern grammarians. Bhaṭṭojidikṣita maintains that the Philetrus are posterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini	217
Nāgajibhaṭṭa says that " <i>the Philetrus, when considered in reference to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day</i> "	219
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND YĀKA	220—225
Professor Müller holds that Pāṇini is anterior to Yāka	220
<i>Refutation of this view</i>	221
Yāka is named by Pāṇini. Yāka on the Prepositions	222
Pāṇini on the Prepositions	224
Pāṇini is posterior to Yāka	225
CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN PĀṆINI AND BUDDHA	225—227
Sākyamuni is not mentioned by Pāṇini	225
Nirvāṇa	226
Pāṇini is anterior to Buddha	227
DATE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA	228—238
Professor Müller holds that it is impossible to determine the date of the Mahābhāṣya; but Patanjali himself states when he did not live and when he did	228

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(xi)

Patanjali speaks of the Mauryas as a past dynasty	228
Patanjali mentions that Atyodhyā and the Mādhyamikas were besieged by the Yavana, and that these events took place <i>when he lived</i>	229
Professor Müller holds that Buddha's death took place 477 B.C.....	231
Objections to his arguments	232
Professor Lassen holds that Buddha's death took place 543 B.C.....	233
The events alluded to by Patanjali must have fallen within the years 140 and 120 B.C.; and this must be therefore the date of the Mahābhāṣya	234
Professor Lassen's view is thus confirmed by the Mahābhāṣya	235
The name of Patanjali's mother is Govikā; his birthplace is Gonarda	ib.
He belongs to the East of India, and to the Eastern grammarians.....	236
Bhartṛhari's account of the early History of the Mahābhāṣya.....	237
<i>Note</i> .—An interesting passage from the Rājataranginī blighted by Dr. Boehtlingk.....	238
BEARING OF THE FOREGOING INVESTIGATION ON THE STUDY OF ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE	
Importance of the Hindu Commentaries. The traditional element in them.....	239—245
The grammatical element in these Commentaries.....	242
<i>The chronological position of the Grammatical Works is the only critical basis for judging of the correctness of the Commentaries</i>	243
THE PRESENT CRITICAL POSITION OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.....	244
The Sanskrit Wörterbuch published by the Russian Imperial Academy	245—258
<i>Six Dicts and Critical Principles of Professor Roth</i>	245
(1) Professor Roth intimates that Śāyana gives only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago. Opinion which must be entertained of this assertion.....	246

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(2) Professor Roth believes that he is far more able than Śāyana to give us the correct sense of the Veda. An examination of the foundation on which this assertion rests	248
(3) Professor Roth asserts that he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word, but that Śāyana could not do this. Examination of the foundation on which this assertion rests	249
(4) Professor Roth says that the purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result. Examination of the foundation on which this assertion rests	250
(5) The object of Professor Roth is not to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India a few centuries ago, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases	252
The revelations received by Professor Roth in regard to the R̥gveda	ib.
The revelations received by him in regard to the Sāma- and Yajur- veda.....	253
(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete	254
The treatment of the scientific and classical literature in the Wörterbuch, by Dr. Boehtlingk. The Wörterbuch cancels authoritatively, and without giving any reason whatever, all the bases in <i>r̥i, r̥i, r̥i</i> , etc.	ib.
The opinion which must be entertained of such a proceeding.....	255
The Sanskrit language under Dr. Boehtlingk's treatment	256
Patanjali and the poets.....	257
The Champions of the Wörterbuch and their means of defence.—Professor Kuhn	258
A further glance at the Champions and their means of defence.—Professor Weber.....	261
The climax	265
A further glance at the Champions.—The hidden reasons of the "editor" of Pāṇini.....	266
Conclusion	267

ERRATA.

IN THE PREFACE:

FOR	READ
Page 15, line 1 of note 12,	Prātisākyā,
P. 21, l. 13,	<i>Pārśvayāśāśitibhāṣyam</i> ,
P. 36, l. 16, before "da-kāra,"	insert "śha-kāra, P. on VII. 4, 46."
P. 61, l. 6 of note 62,	क् ।
P. 100, l. 4 of note 114,	(Kār. l. a. b.)
P. 105, l. 14 of note 120,	इन्द्रस्वामिचोरपीति
P. 112, l. 14 of note 130,	निदिशो
P. 210, l. 11,	Dakṣaṣyana,
P. 227, l. 14,	avāśāśi—
P. 229, l. 10 of note 266,	वाः पूषा
P. 252, l. 11, 12,	not to understand the Veda such as it was current, ing of the Veda which was current.

IN THE FAC-SIMILE:

[In several copies only some of the following errors will be met with.]

FOR	READ
P. 9 a, l. 5,	वच
P. 16 b, l. 9,	वेति
P. 26 a, l. 7,	खात्
P. 27 a, l. 6,	सीर्षे
P. 28 b, l. 1,	युवाति
P. 39 a, l. 8,	स्थानं (i.e. खानं)

FOR

P. 47 b, l. 4,	द्राघीवांसं
P. 47 b, between l. 4 and 5,	प
P. 48 b, l. 10,	खाकाः
P. 51 b, l. 7,	निध्याति
P. 57 b, l. 6 (last word),	ब्राह्मव
P. 59 a, l. 5,	खापन
P. 61 b, l. 1,	गुरु
P. 74 b, l. 3 (last word),	चानि
P. 75 a, l. 4,	तत्तात्सवाः
P. 76 b, l. 6 (last syllable),	च
P. 79 a, l. 10,	क्षिताभंसं
P. 89 a, l. 8,	वर्तत
P. 94 b, l. 10,	वपाव्वादित
P. 97 b, l. 5,	निव
P. 98 a, l. 2,	धार्मुकेष
P. 98 b, l. 4 (last word),	गार्ध
P. 103 a, l. 1,	खचर्षत्सावै
P. 103 b, l. 9 (last syllable),	न
P. 104 b, l. 5 (last syllable),	रा
P. 106 a, l. 3,	देव
P. 114 b, l. 1,	क्रौंच
P. 114 b, l. 3,	मरुखा
P. 117 b, l. 8,	परपीन

READ

द्राघीवांसं	क्षिताभंसं (The Anuvāra is in the MS., but a stroke is drawn through it.)
प	वर्तते
खाकाः	वपाव्वादिति
निध्याति	निव
ब्राह्मव	धार्मुकेष
खापन	गार्ध
गुरु	खचर्षत्सावै (but the last letter is not distinct in the MS.)
चानि	न
तत्तात्सवाः	रा
च	देव
क्षिताभंसं	क्रौंच
वर्तत	मरुखा
वपाव्वादित	परपीन
निव	
धार्मुकेष	
गार्ध	
खचर्षत्सावै	
न	
रा	
देव	
क्रौंच	
मरुखा	
परपीन	

PREFACE.

WHEN collecting materials for a History of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, I happened to find in the Library of the East India House a Manuscript (No. 17), formerly belonging to the collection of Mr. Colebrooke, which bore on its outer page the remark : “**अदिकुमारवैतनाचार्य २२००**,” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in this commentary of Kumārila on the *Rigveda* is 2,200”), and ended on leaf 120 with these words : “**संक्षेपम् ॥ २२०० ॥ अ ॥ कुमारवैतनाचार्य समाप्तम् ॥**” (*i.e.*, “the number, of 32 syllables, in the book is 2,200 ; end of the Commentary of Kumārila”). The remark of the title, which differs in its handwriting from the rest of the book, seems to have been made by a Hindu, who, with much exactness, counted the number of the syllables for the copying of which he had to pay his scribe ; but it certainly did not come from one conversant with Sanskrit literature. Nor can a better opinion be entertained of the Shaikh who

finished copying this volume—“*Samwat* 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing south of the equator, in the autumn season, during the light fortnight of the month *Kārtika* (October-November), in the city of Benares, for the perusal of *Devayāka* (*Devakiya*?), the son of *Jāni* and *Mahādhara*”—or of the writer of his Manuscript,—since the Shaikh professes to have copied the latter with the utmost accuracy, faults and all ;—for neither were the contents of this volume a commentary on the *Rigveda*, nor would a learned man have mis-spelt several words, and very common ones, too, of his own composition, and, above all, the name of one of the most celebrated authors of India. In short, the Manuscript in question contained no other matter than a portion of the *Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras*, together with a commentary of Kumārila-Swāmin, the great *Mīmāṃsā* authority.

A discovery of this ritual work, which had thus remained latent under a wrong designation, would at all times have been welcome to those engaged in the study of Vaidik literature; it gained in interest from the facts that a doubt had been raised, I do not know on what grounds, whether a copy of it had survived, and that a commentary of Kumārila on these Sūtras, had, so far as my knowledge goes, never yet been spoken of in any European or Sanskrit book.

It was but natural, under these circumstances, that I should think of making the knowledge I had obtained generally available, by editing this manuscript; but, to my utter disappointment, I soon perceived, after having examined it in detail, that it belonged to that class of written books, the contents of which may be partially made out and partially guessed, but which are so hopelessly incorrect that a seeming restoration of their text would require a greater amount of conjecture than could be permitted to an editor, or might be consistent with the respect due to the author of the work itself.

When, therefore, another copy of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras with the Commentary of Kumārila was not to be procured, and when I began to surmise that the volume in the possession of the East India House was a unique copy of this rare work, I resolved, with the consent of Professor Wilson, to have a facsimile of it lithographed and printed. This resolution was strengthened by the consideration that even a correct text of these Sūtras would be serviceable only to the few scholars who are familiar with this branch of the oldest Sanskrit literature, and that they would be able, by the aid they might get from other existing Sūtras on the Vaidik ritual, and the Mīmāṃsā works, to turn to account even this incorrect manuscript, in spite of the many doubts it leaves. It was strengthened, too, by the conviction I entertain, that unique manuscripts, or those which are rarely met with,—every existing copy of which consequently possesses a literary value much exceeding that of ordinary manuscripts,—ought to be saved from possible casualties by mechanical contrivances, the most practical of which, as

answering the requirements of the case and entailing the least expense, seems to be that which has been used in the production of the present fac-simile.

I must, however, confess that after several disappointments in trying to secure the necessary aid, I should probably have been compelled to abandon my plan, had I not been able to avail myself of the assistance of a talented young lady, Miss Amelia Rattenbury, who, while devoting herself to the study of Sanskrit, came to my rescue, and, with much patience and skill, accomplished the tracing of the original.

Her work may, indeed, in some parts, be still open to criticism, so far as the exact thickness of the letters on a few pages is concerned, or if some shortcomings, especially those which are noticed in the Errata, be too much insisted upon; but I must in fairness state that several omissions of Anuswáras or strokes, as pointed out in the Errata, are not her fault, but the result of accidents which occurred in transferring the fac-simile to stone; and such defects could not, it would seem, have been wholly

avoided, notwithstanding the careful attention which was paid to the work by the lithographic printers, Messrs. Standidge and Co., and, I may add, in spite of the great trouble I took myself in revising the proofs on the stones, and in thus combining the work of a Sanskritist with that of an apprentice in lithography. Several sheets which failed to show distinctly some Anuswáras or parts of the letters themselves, though transferred to the stone and originally visible there, I cancelled at once; but this expeditious process became, by frequent repetition, so little convenient, that I had to submit at last, though reluctantly, to a list of Errata which, however small, seems to be at variance with the notion of a fac-simile.

On the whole, however, and after this censure, the severity of which, I trust, no one will see occasion to increase, I must express my belief, that the text which is laid before the reader is, when amended by the aid of the Errata list, not merely a thoroughly correct representation of the contents of the special manuscript from which it is copied, but, at the

same time, a good specimen of a fac-simile of a Sanskrit manuscript.¹

Of the work itself I have but little to say, for the Sanskrit scholars who will take an interest in it are well acquainted with the general characteristics of those ritual books which bear the name of Kalpa-Sûtras, and they know, too, that the Mánava-Kalpa-Sûtras teach the ceremonial connected with the old recension

¹ It is necessary to observe that the original, in its actual bound condition, measures 9½ inches in length and 3½ inches in breadth, with the exception of fol. 62 which is 4 inches broad. The surplus of margin in the fac-simile belongs, therefore, to the latter. The binder, in reducing the leaves of the original to the size stated, has in various instances encroached upon the writing, and cut away either portions of letters or even whole letters; which circumstance will account for the defects in the marginal additions of, especially, fol. 1, 3 a, b, 5 b, 11 a, 12 a, 13 a, 14 a, 25 a, 26 a, 32 b, 33 a, 34 a, 48 a, b, 50 b, 52 a, 53 a, 54 a, 58 a, 60 a, 61 a, 62 a, 66 b, 68 a, 70 b, 74 b, 80 b, 81 a, 86 b, 89 b, 107 b, 108 b, 113 a. Another destructive animal, the white ant, has also added to the work of devastation in the interior of the MS., but much more rarely; on the margin of fol. 16 a two strokes (=) indicate the eaten portion. Towards the end of the MS., especially from fol. 90 upwards, the

of the Yajurveda, the Taittiriya-Sāṃhitā. The portion of these Sûtras contained in the present fac-simile comprises the first four books of the whole work: the first or *Yājñamāna* book, in two chapters (from fol. 1 to 54 a, and 54 a to 55 b); the second on the *Agnýādána* (from fol. 55 b to 84 b); the third on the *Agnihotra* (from fol. 84 b to 106 a); and the fourth on the

original has the appearance of having been smeared or powdered over; and this carelessness, caused no doubt by putting the leaves together before the writing was dry, has produced in several instances the errors of the fac-simile, especially as it became sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a dot represented an original *anuvāda* or a smear. I have to mention, besides, that the leaves of the original are bound so as to read downwards, and that the same arrangement has been preserved in the present work in order not to allow it to deviate from the appearance of its modern prototype. There is good reason, however, to suppose that the ancient Hindus had the leaves of their MSS. arranged so as to read in the reverse or upward direction. For one liberty which has been taken in the fac-simile, I am personally answerable. The remark on the outside page, mentioned above, with its mis-spelling of the name of Kumārila and its literary error, will not be found in this volume; its place is filled by the likeness of the god of literary accuracy who is invoked in the commencement of the work.

Vaidik literature, had met among the MSS. of the East India House, which he consulted for his labour, one (No. 599) which bore at its end the intimation of being a part of the *Mánava-Sútras*; and when he showed me the MS., I saw at once that it

ब्राह्मि, ब्राह्मणि, ब्रह्मिष्ठ, ब्रह्मिहोचरवर्षी, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मत्व, ब्रह्मकपाल, ब्राह्म्य, ब्राह्मदुष्ट, ब्राह्मिषा, ब्राह्मनीयायि, ब्राह्मितायि, रक्षा, रक्ष, रक्षत्व, रक्षाकपाल, ब्रह्म, उत्तरवेदि (उत्तरवेदि), उबतायि, उपभृत (उपभृत), उपल, उपलुख, ऊर्षी, एककपाल, ओदन, ओषधि, कपाल (कष्टा, एक, दश, नव, पञ्च, षट्, सप्त), कर्षू, कांक्ष, काष्ठ, कुष्ठ, कुशी, कृष्णाजिन, सौम, खनिज, खादिर, खलेवासी, नाहंपलायि, मुग्गुशु, गोपीर, नोमय, यावन, पुत, चमू, चर, चरखासी, चर्म, चालाक, वापका, वरत्रव, मुह (जीहव), तच्छुल, तिब, गुष, दक्षिणा, दक्षिणागर, दक्षिणायि, दक्षिणापात्र, दक्ष, दधि, दर्भ, दर्भपिङ्गुल, दर्भेरज्जु, दर्भ, दशकपाल, दिव्यवाह (दिलीही), दुषद, द्रव्य, धाव, चिच्छ, ध्रुवा (धौव), नवकपाल, नवनीत, पञ्चकपाल, परिधि, पञ्चशाखा, पवित्र, पशु, पशुपुरोडाश, पात्र (पात्री), पिङ्गुल (दर्भ), पिच्छ, यूतीक, पुषुयावन, प्रसीता, प्रक्षर, प्राचीनावीत, बर्हिंस, बलि, ब्रह्मीदन (ब्राह्मीदक्षिण), भक्त, मद्रुच, भक्षन, मधुपर्क, मन्त्र, महाहविस्, मांस, माष, मुत्र, मुत्रर, मुत्रक, मूत्र, मुन, मुदङ्ग, मेघी, नीज, चक्षायश्चिद्य.

was written by the same writer who had copied the original of the present fac-simile, in a similar, though smaller and less elegant, handwriting, and immediately after he had copied the first four books. For he states himself in his closing words

यद्योपवीत (०तिर), यव, यवानु, यान्यागुवाक्षा, यूप, योक्त, रज्जु, रवं, सेधा, सेप, सोमन, वत्स, वस्त्र, वामदेव, वारवनीय, वेदि (उत्तरवेदि, वेदिनी), वेहत्, ग्रीहि, शकट, शतमान, शतायुध, शमी (शमीशाखा), शर, शराव, शाखा, शाखायि, मुत्त, मूर्ध, रमन्तु, श्रामाव, श्रेणी, षट्कपाल, सप्तकपाल, समिष्टयजुस्, संभार, साम्राज, सोम, सन्वयजुस्, सुन् (सीच), सुव, स्म, इविधान, हविस्, हिरण्य; for the time of sacrificial acts, *astorisms, etc.*: अनुमती, समावासा, उपसत्काव, छत्तिका, क्षेपी, दक्षिणाकाव, आवापुचिपी, पुनर्वसु, प्रातर्, फाल्गुनी, मुवस्, मू, माचद्विन, मार्गशीर्ष, मुग्निरस्, राचि, वर्षा (वर्षिक), रेवती, रोहिणी, वसन्त, वैशाखी, जुष्ट, शरद्, शिबिर, मुनासीर, संवत्सर, सबःकाव, सायन, मूर्धोदय, स्मर्, स्मर्, हिमन्त; for *priests, sacrificer, etc.*: ऋधु (आधर्व), आधीम, आधानर्लिक्, उवागु, छलिक्, चमसाधु, यक्षी, पुरोहित, प्रतिप्रक्षानु, ब्रह्मन् (ब्रह्मन्), यवमान (यवमान), यज्ञपति, यदु, होनु (होच); for *derivatives (and their derivatives)*: बधि, बधिबो-

that he finished copying "the fifth part of the Agnishtoma book of the Mánava-Sûtra, Samvat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing north of the equator, in the winter season, during the light fortnight of the month Pausa (December-January), on the fifteenth lunar day, in the city of Benares"; and the next syllable, immediately succeeded by a blank in the MS., makes it probable that he wrote this portion, too, for the perusal of the son of Mahidhara. His conscience, however, seems to have been more sensitive regarding the accuracy with which he had performed his task, at the end of the Agnishtoma portion, than it was before, since he makes a very touching appeal to the indulgence of the reader, and

मीय, ऋषीङ्ग (रङ्गादि), ऋदिति, ऋपांयन्, ऋयन्तु (ऋयन्तृतीय), ऋदिङ्ग, ऋयि, ऋदित, ऋयि, रङ्ग, रङ्गादी, ऐङ्ग, ऐङ्गाय, न्यवे, तन्गपाद्, त्र्यम्ब, देव, देवता, पूष, ऋदेव, ऋदेवत, गृहसति, मरुत (मारुत), महेङ्ग, मीवायव, मीवायव, रवस, रङ्ग, ऋव (वारव), वायु, विशदेवाः (विशदेव), विश्व, विश्वान, सुर्व (सर्व), सोम, सीमपीष्व, सीवेवायव, हिरण्यवर्ग.

is even modest enough to count himself amongst the scribes of limited intellect.³

The contents of this latter manuscript, viz., the description of the Agnishtoma rites in five Adhyāyas,⁴ now, too, explain the meaning of the concluding words of our MS. (fol. 120 b):

³ I subjoin a literal copy of the last page (37) of this MS. with *all the faults*, which will give some idea of the unhappy fate of these Mánava-Sûtras in the hands of their ignorant transcriber: चादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा । तादृशे विवितं मया ॥ यदि मुञ्चमनुवं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥ १ ॥ ऋदृषमावाङ्मनि विधमावा । यद्वेदीनं विवितं मयाच । तत्सर्वमादौः परिशोधनीयं कोप न कुयोक्तुं लेखकः ॥ २ ॥ यास्तुको पि यो यत्ता जावायास्त्रिवारदः । मुञ्चते विवमानो पि किं पुनः स्वस्त्युदवः ॥ सोऽस्त्रि ॥ संवत् १६४३ वर्षे यावे प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायणे हेमन्त ऋतौ महामानवप्रदः ॥ पीचमाले मुञ्चये १५ मासो तिथौ ऋषेष्ट मायिवाक्यं मोहघातीय ॥ वा विवितं ॥ लेखकाठकयोः मुमं भवतु । मानवयूषस्य ऋषिष्टो-मास्त्रस्य पंचमभानस्य पुस्तकमलेखिः ॥ श्रीः ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ यमसाधयेवः । होता १ ब्रह्म २ उद्गाता ३ यजमानः । ४ प्रश्नास्त्रिः । ५ ब्राह्मणार्हदेवि ६ पोता ७ वेष्ट । ८ ऋषी-भ्रः । ९ ऋदावाकः । १० एते दश यमसाधयेवः ; and after this last piece of scholar-ship is added in a different hand: "स्वपुस्तकं । सीमयूचं ॥ यथाः ५" (1).

⁴ Whether the work which is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. at

प्रागख्योपनिषद् संपूर्णे (which ought to be प्राख्योपनिषद्*), for they clearly point to a continuation, treating on the Soma rites, which continuation is given in the MS. 599, so far as the text of the Sūtras goes, though this MS. does not contain any further commentary of Kumārila.

The text of the first four books of the Sūtras in our MS. is, unhappily, only fragmentary. Sometimes, but rarely, a Sūtra is given in full before the gloss of Kumārila; for the most part, however, the copy of the text, as is the case with many manuscripts of Commentaries on Sūtras, starts from the assumption that the reader possesses a MS. which contains the words of the Sūtra, and refers to them by merely giving the first and the last word of the sentence which is the subject of the commentary. Now and then, it is true, some further words of the Sūtra emerge from

Benares, p. 118, under the title सोमसूक्तविधानम् (No. 2503) be the same as the Agniṣṭoma portion of the Mānava-Sūtras, I have had no means of ascertaining. The same Catalogue records the existence of the मानवसूत्रम् (p. 78, No. 761), but without naming the Commentary of Kumārila.

the gloss of Kumārila, but, though it is possible to understand the purport of his comment, it would be a fruitless task to try to construe from it the full detail of the text, since much of the latter is left unnoticed, as requiring, apparently, no gloss.

The interest connected with the present volume centres, therefore, chiefly in the commentary of Kumārila, and in the fact itself that it is this great Mīmāṃsā writer who composed a commentary on the Mānava-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā. For, since in Sanskrit literature, commentaries on works which involve scientific convictions or religious belief were, as a rule, written by those alone who shared in these convictions or meant to defend this belief, it is a matter of significance that this celebrated representative of the Mīmāṃsā doctrine, who lived before Śaṅkara, the commentator of the Vedānta-Sūtras,⁵ should have attached his remarks to a Sūtra belonging to the Black-Yajus School.

⁵ Compare the Preface to the first edition of Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. xviii seqq.

That this circumstance cannot be accidental is rendered probable by collateral facts. Kumārila quotes on two occasions (fol. 14 a and 85 b) the opinion of Śābara-Swāmin on passages in the Sūtras, and as it is not the commentary of this author on the Jaiminī-Sūtras to which he refers, his quotation can only imply that Śābara had composed, besides, a gloss either on the Mānava-, or on other Sūtras of the same school. Śābara, however, is, like Kumārila whom he preceded, one of the principal authorities of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy.⁶ Mādhava also, the commentator on the Vedas, who may be considered as the last writer of eminence on the Mīmāṃsā, composed or indited a commentary on another Sūtra work of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the Sūtra of Baudhāyana. Of commentators on other

⁶ I may mention, on this occasion, other quotations made by Kumārila. He speaks several times of other Sākhās, without, however, specifying them (fol. 9 b, 17 a, 33 a, 36 b, 41 b, etc. etc.), once even of a Krūrāsākhā, (fol. 50 a); of older teachers (Pūrvasākhāyās, fol. 43 b—44 a, 83 a, Viddhāsākhāyā, 119 a), of the Vārha Sūtras (fol. 75 a, 93 b, 120 b), the Bhāṣyakāra, who is probably the same as Śābara (fol. 115 a), the Brāhmaṇabhāṣyakāra (fol. 60 b, 63 a, 75 b), the Ṡrīhyabhāṣyakāra (fol. 60 a), the

Sūtras of the Black-Yajur-veda I do not speak, since they have not attained a prominent rank among the Mīmāṃsists. But it ought not to be left unnoticed, on the other hand, that neither the Kalpa works connected with the R̥gveda, nor those belonging to the Sāma-, or White-Yajur-veda, had commentators who, at the same time, wrote Mīmāṃsā works.

It would seem, therefore, and I shall have to advert to this point in detail in a more appropriate place, that the Kalpa-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā represented or countenanced, more than other Kalpa-Sūtras, the tenets and decisions of the Mīmāṃsā philosophers.

This intimate connection between the two will enable us, then, not merely to remove all doubt, if any exist, as to the identity

Hātibhāṣyakṛit (fol. 75 b); he names the Bahvrichās (20 a, 23 b); the Yajurveda (fol. 9 a and b), and Yajurvedika (fol. 12 b, 67 a), the Kāthaka (fol. 9 a, 98 b), the Taittirīyaka (fol. 60 a, 61 b, 66 b), a Brāhmaṇa (fol. 114 b); and the Sāmaveda (fol. 9 b); Manu is usually called by him Sūtrakāra or Sūtrakṛit (e.g. fol. 43 b, 71 b, 75 b, etc., 29 a, 32 a, 35 b, etc.); other authors of Sūtras, Sūtrakārās or Sūtrakṛitas (fol. 38 a, 77 b).

of the author of the present commentary with the author of the Várttikas on the Jaimini-Sūtras,—even if this identity were not proved by the peculiar style of Kumárika's composition, by his writing alternately in prose and śloka, by his pithy remarks, and his strong expressions; but it will throw light, too, on the nature of the commentary itself.

It is not a commentary in the ordinary sense, merely explaining obsolete or difficult words, and giving the meaning of the sentences; it is often nothing else than a regular discussion and refutation of divergent opinions which were probably expressed in other Kalpa works. And the constant use it makes of current Mímánsá terms, in their Mímánsá sense, such as *apúrva*, *pará-nápirva*, *úha*, *bádha*, to which may be added also, *vidhi*, *anuváda*, *arthaváda*, *puruṣhártha*, *kraivarttha*, *bheda* (*mantrabheda*, *vákya-bheda*), on account of the frequent application these latter words find in the Mímánsá writings,—impresses on the discussions of Kumárika the full stamp of a Mímánsá reasoning.

There is one fact which deserves special mention, though

it has only an indirect bearing on the present work. In the Sūtras, I. 3, 10-12, Jaimini treats of the question whether the Kalpa works have the same authority as the Veda or not; in other terms, whether they must be ascribed to divine or to human authorship, and decides in favour of the latter alternative. Kumárika, in his Várttikas on this chapter, gives instances of the works of several authors which would fall under this category; he names, in the course of his discussion, the Sūtras of Baudháyana, Varáha, Másaaka, Áśwaláyana, Vajjavápa, Bráhyáyana, Látyáyana, Kátyáyana, and Ápastamba; but though his “*et cetera*” imply that he did not intend to give a complete list, it is certainly remarkable that he should not have named the Mánava-Sūtras, which he has commented upon, more especially as he makes reference to the Dharmasástra of Manu.

Śabara, also, his predecessor, who mentions, in his Bháshya on the same Sūtras of Jaimini, the Másaaka-, Hástika-, and Kaundinya-Kalpa-Sūtra, does not speak of the Mánava. And, to conclude, the same omission strikes us in the Jaiminiya-nyáya-málá-vistara of

Mádhava, who names the Baudháyana-, Ápastamba-, Áśwaláyana-, and Kátyáyana-Kalpa-Sútras, but makes no allusion to our work.

It may be, and it even is probable, that Kumárá wrote his gloss on the Mánava-Kalpa-Sútra after he had finished his Várttikas on the Sútras of Jaimini. But this circumstance alone cannot account for the omission of this Kalpa work from his Várttikas, nor does it offer any explanation of the general silence in regard to it of the other renowned writers on the Mímánsá philosophy.

I believe that the reason for this silence must be sought for in the decision of Jaimini, and in the legendary character of Manu, the reputed author of our Kalpa work. At the time of Śábara, Manu was no doubt already viewed by his countrymen in the same light in which he appears in the Dharmasástra that bears his name but professes distinctly not to be the immediate work of Manu himself, and, consequently, could be safely alluded to. This mythical character, however, of Manu results from the legends connected with a personage of

this name in the Śatapathabráhmana and the Rigveda itself. To prove, therefore, on the one hand, that the Kalpa-Sútras are human work, and to hold before the reader's eye the name of an individual who, if less than a god, was, at all events, believed to be more than a man, would have been a proceeding which might either have shaken the conviction which it was intended to produce, or tinged the doctrine of the propounders with a hue of heresy which certainly neither Śábara, nor Kumárá, nor Mádhava meant to impart to his commentary. Probably, therefore, it appeared safer to evade this awkward illustration of the human character of a Sútrakára, and to be satisfied with instances of a more tangible and less delicate kind.

From our point of view, however, and I conclude from the point of view of the Mímánsists themselves, there is no reason to doubt that a Manu, the author of the present Sútras, was as much a real personage as Baudháyana and the other Sútrakáras who were never raised to a superhuman dignity. I can no more

see a valid argument for doubting the existence of this Manu, because his name would mean, etymologically, "a thinking being, a man," and because mythology has lent this character to the father of the human race, also called Manu, than there would be for doubting the real existence of the Brāhmaṇa caste, merely because they ascribe their bodily origin to the Creator of the World. And as to the name of Manu (man) itself, it does not seem more striking or even more strange than other proper names in the Vaidik time; than, for instance, the proper names Prāna, *life*; Eka, *one*; Itarā, or Anyatarā, *either of two*; Panchan, *five*; Saptan, *seven*; Ashtan, *eight*; Śīras, *head*; Loman, *hair*; Vindu, *drop*, etc.

To assign a date to the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, even approximately, is a task I am incapable of performing; though, judging from the contents of this work, it may seem plausible to assert that they are more recent than the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and older than those of Āpastamba. But I have not any means of ascertaining when these latter works were composed.

It may not, however, be superfluous to add that they were either younger than Pāṇini or, at least, not so much preceding his time as to be ranked by him amongst the old Kalpa works. For in an important Sūtra of his grammar he states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*, and it follows therefore that none of the works of this kind, which are likely to be still in existence, and amongst them the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, are, from Pāṇini's point of view, old Kalpa works.⁷ And when I express the opinion that there is no tenable ground for assigning to Pāṇini so recent a date as that which has been given to him, viz., the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but that there is on the contrary a presumption that he preceded the time of the founder of the Buddhistic creed,—I have advanced as much,

⁷ Pāṇini, iv. 3, 105. This Sūtra is comprised under the head rule iv. 3, 101, which extends as far as 111. In the gloss on some of these Sūtras the Kāśikā, the Siddhānt, and the Calcutta Paṇḍits who composed or compiled the printed commentary, have introduced the word *अधीवर्तते* in addition to *प्राचीनम्*. I hold, arbitrarily,—since it is neither indicated by the head rule, nor met with in the Mahābhāṣya.

or as little, as, I believe, can be safely advanced on the date of the present Kalpa work.

After the foregoing lines, were written I received Professor Max Müller's "*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmins* (1859)."⁸ To acknowledge the merits of this work, which shows the great importance of the religious development of India; to acknowledge the light it throws on the obscurest parts of Hindu literature, and the comprehensive learning it has brought to bear on many an intricate topic connected with the rise and progress of Hindu grammar, law, and theology, must be the first and not the least gratifying feeling of every one interested in Sanskrit, and more especially in Vaidik philology. The greater, however, this new claim of the editor of the *Rigveda* to our gratitude, the more does his work impose on us the duty of examining, among the topics of which it treats, those which seem to require additional

evidence before they can be considered as having attained a definite settlement. I take advantage of this opportunity, therefore, to re-open the discussion on two points, which seem to me to fall under this predicament, especially as they concern every work of the Vaidik literature, and equally bear on the present ritual book. I mean the question of the introduction of writing into India,⁹ and the general question of the chronology of Vaidik works.⁹

Müller's view on the first of these questions is contained in the following words (p. 524): "If writing came in towards the

⁸ Müller's History, p. 497—524. This chapter is reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. ii. 1859), with the following note which became my first inducement to treat the matter on this occasion: "This paper is an extract from a work now in the press on the history of ancient Sanskrit literature. Professor Müller has sent it for the Society's Journal in the hope of eliciting some fresh information from European or native scholars in India on the interesting questions which it discusses."

⁹ The same, pp. 244, 313, 435, 572.

latter-half of the Sâtra period,¹⁰ it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brâhmanas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brâhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only;" and (p. 507): "But there are stronger arguments than these (viz., the arguments alleged by him, pp. 497-507), to prove that, before the time of Pāṇini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown. If writing had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing etc."

Müller maintains, therefore, that not merely *before* the time of Pāṇini, but to Pāṇini himself, writing was unknown; and as

¹⁰ This period extends, according to his views, from 600 to 200 B.C. (p. 244).

according to his view, "Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C." (pp. 245, 301 ff.),¹¹ it would follow that, according to him, India was not yet in possession of the most useful of arts at the time when Plato died and Aristotle flourished.

I must confess that I could not, and cannot, look upon this assertion otherwise than as a splendid paradox, which, it is true, makes up for its want of power of convincing by the ingenuity of the defence with which it is supported, and the interest which may be derived from the extraneous matter it has brought to its aid; and, had I happened to read this chapter before the rest, I should probably have thought that the idea of conceiving India without read and ink until, or after, Pāṇini's death, did not originate with Müller before the close of his learned work, and then only that he might crown, as it were, its merits by some extraordinary feat. But though justice requires me to admit that such is not the case, —that, on the contrary, the same opinion pervades the earlier por-

¹¹ This date will be the subject of ulterior remarks.

tions of his book,"¹² I must still say that it does not seem to have taken root in his mind with that strong conviction which produces an impression on others, for it appears psychologically doubtful that an author, having that conviction, could even metaphorically speak of the "prayer-book" of the Hotris (pp. 187, 473), or say that Kātyāyana, whom he defines as "the contemporary of Pāṇini" (p. 138, and elsewhere), "*writes* in the Bhāshya" (p. 138), "*wrote* the Vārtikas" (p. 148), "*writes* in prose" (p. 229), or that he could call the Sūtrakāras "*writers* of Sūtras" (p. 215).

No one, I believe, will easily imagine a civilized people who at the time of the Mantras (the period prior to that of the Sūtras

and Brāhmanas), were such as to possess "arts, sciences, institutes, and vices of civilized life, golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, the use of precious metals, of musical instruments, the fabrication of cars, and the employment of the needle the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine, and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated allusions to the seventh season or intercalary month" . . . and again, "laws of property,"¹³ "laws of inheritance, and of simple contract, or buying and selling,"¹⁴—having a civilization which Professor Wilson characterizes in the preface to his excellent Translation of the R̥gveda (vol. ii, p. xvii), as "differing little, if at all, from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's invasion,"—no one, I believe, will easily imagine a people in such a state of civilization unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art

¹² See Wilson's Translation of the R̥gveda, vol. ii, p. xvi.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* vol. iii, p. xvii.

¹³ *E.g.* p. 137, "the rules of the Prātiśākyas were not intended for written literature;" p. 200, note, "the question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter;" p. 362, "if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing" [to 'remember' this on p. 362 is difficult, since the theory is propounded p. 497—524]; p. 311, "in India, where before the time of Pāṇini we have no evidence of any written literature, etc."

be made in the hymns to the gods. And is it really plausible that even 600 or 700 years later, the greatest grammarian of India composed a most artificial and most scientific system of grammar, utterly ignorant of the simplest tool which might have assisted him in his work? Should it be possible to realize an advanced stage of social development without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless, of course, to refer to the arts, sciences, measures, and coins mentioned in the Sûtras of Pânini; yet I will advert, within the limits of these preliminary remarks, to one fact, at least, which it may be as well not to overlook.

We know from Herodotus that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, subdued the Hindus;¹⁵ and we have inscriptions of this king himself which tell us that amongst the nations subdued by him were the Gadara and Hidhu or the Gandhâras, and the peoples living on the banks of the Indus.¹⁶ Could Pânini, therefore, who was

¹⁵ iv. 44: *μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιλάσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος*, etc.

¹⁶ Compare Lassen's Ind. Alterth. i. 422; ii. 112, 113, and the quotations given there.

a native of Gandhâra, had he lived after Darius, as Müller supposes to be the case, have remained ignorant of the fact that writing was known in Persia? And if not, would he not, in composing his work, have profited by this knowledge, provided, of course, that he was not acquainted previously with this art, independently of his acquaintance with the Persian alphabet? This question is answered, however, I believe, by a word which is the subject of one of his special rules (IV. 1, 49), the word *yavanâni*, explained by Kátyâyana and Patanjali as meaning the "*writing* of the Yavanas." Both Weber and Müller mention this word, the former as meaning "the writing of the Greeks or Semites (Ind. St. I. p. 144), or, as he later opines, of the Greeks alone (IV. 89); the latter (p. 521) "a variety of the Semitic alphabet, which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pânini, became the type of the Indian alphabet." It would seem to me, that it denotes the writing of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writing which was known already, before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance, and different enough from the alphabet of the

Hindus, to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a separate word.

While I intend to address myself now to the special arguments offered by Müller, for the theory that writing was unknown to Pāṇini, I find myself, as it were, arrested by his own words; for, after having proposed his reasons in support of this theory (from page 497 to page 520), he makes the following remark on the word *lipikara*, "a writer or engraver," which I quote in full:—"This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini which can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing. He teaches the formation of this word, iii. 2, 21." Whether it is the only word which can be legitimately adduced for such a proof, I shall have to examine. But even on the supposition that it is, I must really question the purport of the whole discussion, if Müller himself admits that Pāṇini would have pointed to this word *lipikara* had it been his task to defend himself against the imputation of being ignorant of the art of writing.

For it becomes obviously immaterial whether the word *lipikara* occurs once or a hundred times in the Sūtras,—whether another similar word be discoverable in his Grammar or not; one word is clearly sufficient to establish the fact, and to remove all doubt. This admission of Müller, which upsets all he has tried to impress upon our minds, is doubtless very creditable to his candour; for it shows his wish to elicit the truth, and fully confirms our faith in what he says at the end of his essay: "It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pāṇini. If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them." But since he has not even tried to invalidate by a single word the conclusion which necessarily follows from this admission, it would be like carrying owls to Athens if I endeavoured to prove what is sufficiently proved already by himself.

Nevertheless, I will do so; not only out of respect for his labour, but because the observations I am going to make may tend to show that there is much more evidence in Pāṇini than

this solitary word for the assumption that he was not merely conversant with writing, but that his Grammar could not even have been composed as it is now, without the application to it of written letters and signs.

The chief argument of Müller is a negative one: the absence of words which mean book, ink, paper, and the like. Thus he says of the Vaidik hymns (p. 497): "Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing;" or (p. 512) "If we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., not one of them has yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity." ¹⁷ I do not think that such an argument, in its generality, can ever be held to be a conclusive proof. It is not the purpose of the Vaidik hymns to tell us that pen and

ink were known to the Āryas; it becomes, therefore, entirely a matter of chance whether so prosaic an object be mentioned in them or not,—whether the poets borrow their figures from paper and book, or from the life of the elements. The very instances Müller has adduced from the Psalms will probably leave in every one's mind the impression that these songs might easily have existed, without any damage to their reputation, even if they had not contained the three verses which bespeak the scholarship of their authors; and the book of Job too, if it had not that literary longing which is contained in Müller's *happy quotation*: "Oh that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book!" But what applies to poetical songs, avails with still greater force in a grammatical work. Pāṇini's object is to record such phenomena of the language as are of interest from a *grammatical* point of view. Sometimes the words which belong to his province, will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest; but it does not follow at all, that because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent

¹⁷ Not even *lipi*?

from the language also ; the extreme conclusion would be that it is a word of no grammatical interest ; and this conclusion itself, to be correct, would imply that Pāṇini was a perfect author, and did not omit any word or words which ought to have been noticed by him on grammatical grounds. ✓

“There is no word,” says Müller, “for book, paper, ink, writing, etc., in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity” (p. 512). Of *lipi*, “to write,” I need say no more, since it is the base of *lipi*. I agree with him that the verbs *adhī* or *vach* (in the caus.) which are used in the sense “to read,” contain no proof of their applying to a written work, since the former means literally “to go over mentally, to acquire,” and the latter “to cause to speak.”¹⁸ I am equally willing to admit that the divisions of literary works which are frequently met with, such as *anuvākas*, *prāśnas*, *maṇḍalās*, *paṭhas*, *vargas*, *sūktas*, etc., cannot be compared with such words as “*volumen*, a volume, *liber*, i. e. the inner bark

of a tree ; or *βιβλος*, i. e. *βύβλος*, the inner bark of the papyrus ; or *book*, i. e., beech-wood” (p. 515). But I cannot admit that there is no word of genuine antiquity meaning book, or division of book, which cannot be compared with those latter words of the cognate languages. One word is indeed supplied by Müller himself, at the end of his essay ; it undoes, as it were, all that precedes on this subject, in the same way as *lipikara* undid his arguments against Pāṇini’s acquaintance with writing.

After the words I have quoted above, “if so, it is not from any wish to suppress them,” he continues (523): “I believe, indeed, that the Brāhmaṇas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras. And there is one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition. We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters, called *paṭalas*. This is a word never used for the subdivision of the Brāhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane ; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem

¹⁸ Thus Pāṇini himself says, V. 2, 84, ओचिर्वचद्वयो ऽसीति.

to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *βιβλος*, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees." But he seems to have entirely overlooked—no doubt on account of its common occurrence—the word *kāṇḍa*, which is the name of a division of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā and -Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of the frequent application it has found at a later period in denoting chapters of ritual books, or ritual books themselves, such as *kāmyeshīti-kāṇḍa*, *kānyapaśu-kāṇḍa*, *pauroḷśika-kāṇḍa*, *agneya-kāṇḍa*, *hautra-kāṇḍa*, *adhvaryu-kāṇḍa*, *yajamāna-kāṇḍa*, *sattra-kāṇḍa*, etc. And *kāṇḍa*, before meaning *book*, means "the part of the trunk of a tree whence the branches proceed,—a stalk or stem;"—it is, therefore, a fair representative of our word *book*. But, if such is the original purport of *paṭala*, and of the more frequent *kāṇḍa*, I cannot conceive on what grounds Müller founds his doubt (p. 513) of *patra* meaning the leaf of a book, in works of genuine antiquity, since *patra* means, originally, the leaf of a tree, and since palm-leaves, even now, bespeak the

use which has been made of them for literary purposes. For, though Urvāśi writes her amatory letter on a "birch-leaf,"—which, then, is called, not merely *patra*, but *bhūrja-patira*,—it does not follow that ordinary letters of literary works must also have been engraved on what was probably a rarer material than the leaf of a palm-tree or of a lotus.

Besides *kāṇḍa* and *paṭala*, there are, however, two other important words, in the sense of work, which could not but attract the attention of Professor Müller—the words *sūtra* and *grantha*. The former, which means, literally, "string," has become, according to him (p. 512), the well-known name of an extensive class of works, by assuming the figurative sense, "strings of rules." The latter, he says (p. 522), "is derived from a root *grath*, which means *nectere*, *serere*. *Grantha*, therefore, like the later *sandarbhā*, would simply mean a composition. It corresponds etymologically with the Latin *textus*. Thus it is used by the commentator to Nir. i. 20., where he says that former teachers handed

down the hymns, *granthato 'rthataścha*,¹⁹ 'according to their text, and according to their meaning.' In the later literature of India, *grantha* was used for a volume, and, in *granthakuṭi*, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning. But in the early literature *grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book; it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work."

That "sūtra" may have assumed the sense of "string of rules," before it became the name of a book, is possible; but that it must have gone through *this* metaphorical process, and no other,—as the certainty with which Müller explains the term would imply,—²⁰ is not corroborated by any proof he has given; nor is it even plausible. Before, however, I give my own opinion on this word, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain whether the word *sūtra*,—

¹⁹ Similarly, *c. g.*, Kullūka or Maṇu, VII. 43, चिदिदीमर्षतो सञ्चतञ्चायसित्. See also, "Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. ii. p. 175.

²⁰ "We meet with *Brāhmaṇas*, the sayings of Brahman; with *Sūtras*, i. e., the strings of rules." (p. 512.)

which is used in the singular both as a name for a whole collection of rules, and as a name for a single *sūtra*,—denoted, originally, the latter, and then became the designation of the former, or *vice versa*. Thus, the Kāśikāvṛtti calls Pāṇini's Sūtra, V. 4, 151, *gaṇa-sūtram*, and speaks of the *five Sūtras*, I. 3, 72—76, *swarīṭānīti pāñchabhlis sūtrair ātmanepadam*, etc. *evam panchasūtrīyām udāhāryam*; and Patanjali says, in the introduction to Pāṇini, *Sūtrāni chāpyadhīyāna ishyate vaiyāk.rana iti*, "he who studies the *Sūtras* is termed a grammarian." But if we examine the use which Pāṇini himself makes of this word, we find that he always uses *sūtra* as a term for the whole collection of rules, and not as an expression for a single Sūtra: IV. 2, 65, "Sūtrāch cha kopadhāt;" IV. 3, 110, "Pārāśaryaiśśiṭhīyām bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoh" (where the dual shows that the analysis requires *bhikṣusūtre* and *naṭasūtre*). In his Rules, IV. 2, 60, and V. 1. 58, the number of the word is less clear, since it is part of a compound; yet the instances of Patanjali to the Vārtikas, and some explanations of the Kāśikā (*c. g. Kālpasūtram adhīte, Kālpā-*

sūtrah, and *ashṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya ashṭakam pāṇinīyam*) leave little doubt that it is likewise to be taken there as a singular. In a similar manner it is used in Patanjali's comment on II. 3, 66, v. 2, "*Śobhanā khalu pāṇineḥ sūtrasya kṛtiḥ*."²¹ It

²¹ In the Sūtra VIII. 3, 90, and the Gaṇa to V. 4, 29, its sense is the literal one; it is mentioned, too, as a masc. and neuter in the Gaṇa to II. 4, 31.—It is necessary for me to observe, that in the quotations from Pāṇini I always distinguish between the text of the Sūtras, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana,—and those alone can be held to be Kātyāyana's Vārtikas which appear in the Mahābhāṣya,—Patanjali's Commentary, the Vārtikas found in the Kāśikā and in the Siddhāntakaumudī, and these latter works. The importance of this distinction requires no remark, since all conclusions must become unsafe if the observations or instances of one writer are given as evidence for or against another, especially before it has been decided whether, for instance, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries or not. I regret that Professor Müller has paid little attention to this circumstance, for he has frequently confounded the Commentaries, even the latest, with the text of the Sūtras of Pāṇini; and the very circumstance that he has sometimes pointed out the commentary as distinct from the text, and *vice versa*, creates still more confusion where he has omitted to do so. Thus, he quotes correctly (p. 44, note 2), "VIII. 3, 95 (*text*)," or, "IV. 1, 176 (*text*)" or, (p. 45, in the same note), "IV. 3, 98 (*text*);" and I admit that an attentive reader

would seem, therefore, since no higher authority than Pāṇini can be quoted, that *sūtra*,—when used in the sense of a single rule,—is will conclude that the quotations not marked "*text*" are taken from the commentary; yet, "VI. 3, 75," is not commentary but text. And what does the word "*commentary*" mean? Patanjali, Kāśikā, Siddh.-k., or the Calcutta Paṇḍits? Again, when he says (p. 69, n. 1): "It is remarkable that, in Pāṇini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature," not one of his quotations given to prove this important point, viz., IV. 2, 66; "IV. 3, 102, 1;" IV. 3, 107; "II. 4, 21," belongs to Pāṇini, but the two former to Patanjali; and the two latter to the Kāśikā. On p. 347, n., the Saulabhāni Brāhmaṇai are attributed by him to Pāṇini himself, but Pāṇini says nothing about them. The instances to the quotations, of page 361, n. 3, ("IV. 3, 101; IV. 2, 64"), and those to n. 4. (IV. 3, 108), belong to the Kāśikā,—none to Pāṇini. Nearly all the instances referred to, p. 364, n. 3, belong to Patanjali; and p. 369, n., where "*com.*" and "*text*" are contradistinguished, "VI. 2, 10" is not Pāṇini. P. 370, n. 10, "IV. 3, 104," ought to have been marked "*com.*" and a similar confusion exists, pp. 362, 371, 521, 522, etc.; while, on the other hand, the *commentary* is correctly quoted in most of the instances of p. 184, 185, 193, 252, 330, 339, 353, 357, though without any mention whether the commentary of Patanjali, or of the Kāśikā, etc., be meant. The *text* is marked correctly, pp. 125, n. 2; 340, 368, n. 1 (IV. 3, 128), 5; 369, n. 1, 3; 371, n. 2, 6; 372, n. 2, 8; 373, n. 3; and the *gaṇas* correctly, p. 369, n. 6; 370, n. 7, 8, 9, 10; 372, n. 8; 373, n. 8. I do not altogether think that this want of accuracy,

pars pro toto, and that its original sense is that of a whole collection

in a writer like Professor Müller, is entirely the result of oversight; it seems to me, on the contrary, that the reason for it lies in the words of his note to p. 46 :—"It was impossible to teach or to use Pāṇini's Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiśākhya and in Pāṇini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching." This coincidence, to be of that value which is described in the words quoted, would require first the proof that the Prātiśākhya, viz. the existing ones of Saunaka and Kātyāyana, are *older* than Pāṇini; otherwise, it ceases to be of any consequence, as regards Pāṇini. As to his statement in general, however, I must observe, that it can surely not be received as authoritative in the absence of all proof. I must myself, on the contrary, quite deny to its admissibility. The coincidences, in the first place, between the instances of the existing Prātiśākhya and those in the Commentaries of Pāṇini, considering the great bulk of the latter, are perfectly trifling. Again, as to the other instances, about 2000 Sūtras of Pāṇini are not criticised by Kātyāyana, nor commented upon by Pāṇini; with regard to the instances, therefore, in this considerable number of rules, our oldest authority is nearly always the Kāśikā, the infallibility of which Commentary I have had, sometimes, reason to doubt. Scarcely any instance of this category can be traced to the Prāti-

of rules.²² If such be the case the question arises, whether it is

śākhya, and, unless it can be proved by Müller that these instances belong to *antiquity*, I do not consider it at all safe to found any conclusions on them, as regards *antiquity*. But on no account can it be consistent with critical research to use even the instances of Pāṇini as evidence for or against the Vārtikas, and much less for or against the Sūtras of Pāṇini, since Kātyāyana *never* gives *instances*, but, like Pāṇini himself, either lays down a general rule, or specifies the words which are the subject of his rule.

²² Compare also the following passage of the Mahābhāṣiya (ed. Ballantyne, p. 68).

Pāṇinī : अथ आकरणमिदं शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । मुक्त्वा ॥ Kātyāyana : सूत्रे आकरणे यवर्चो ऽनुपपन्नः ॥ Pāṇinī : सूत्रे आकरणे यवर्चो नोपपद्यते आकरणस्य यवर्चमिति । किं तदन्वत्सुवाङ्माकारकम् । यस्मात् सूत्रं स्मात् ; Kātyāyana : यवर्च इति । आध्यात्मपि शब्दाध्यामाङ्माङ्माः प्रतिपादनाद्विनाशितिरिवाभावः । सामान्यविशेषशब्दतया तु द्वयोः प्रयोजो न विरुध्यते । यदा लघ्याध्यामेकदेशः सूत्रशब्देनोच्यते तदा यवर्चो ऽनुपपद्यते ; Nagvibh ननु सूत्रसमुदायस्य आकरणस्येदं सूत्रमिदमुपपद्यते इति आह । आध्यामिति । सूत्रपदेनावष्टाधाखिव यदोच्यते तदापीत्येते ऽव प्रयोक्तव्यः स न सिद्धेदित्यर्थः । ननु किमुच्यते यवर्चो ऽनुपपन्न इति प्रतीयतया सहप्रयोजनो ऽपि न स्मादत्त आह । सामान्यविशेषेति । सूत्रं सामान्यं आकरणं विशेषः । सूत्रशब्देनाष्टाधाखिव । तदिकदेशे तु योग्यव्यवहार एव योग्ये योने उपपत्तिरुक्त इत्यादौ । यदा त्विति । सूत्राखि

the figure implied by Müller's rendering "strings of rules" that has led to the word *sūtra* being used in the sense of "book," or not. As, I believe, I am able to show that Pāṇini was perfectly well acquainted with the art of writing, and that written books had even existed long before his time, my own opinion is, that the name for book was, as in the case of *patāla* and *kāṇḍā*, borrowed rather from a material fact than from the metaphorical idea of the logical connection of rules. And here I appeal to evidence, and to the admission which will be made to me that there are peculiarities and habits in the life of nations, which may be supposed to have existed at the earliest times such as we see them now. Everyone who has studied Sanskrit MSS. in the libraries of London and Paris, will have found that the oldest specimens of these MSS. are written on palm-leaves, which are pierced in the middle, and kept together by means of a "string." The natural-

वाच्यधीवान् एति भाषि वक्ष्यमाणत्वादिति भावः । वस्तुत एवदेशस्य सूत्रत्वे ऽपि तस्यापि
साध्यात्यन्तरया वा बाधरज्ज्वालात्वाच्चर्वाणुपपत्तिरेवेति तत्सम्.

ness of the material of these MSS., and the primitive manner in which they are bound,—if we can use the term "binding," for a parcel of leaves, covered on both sides with oblong pieces of wood, and kept together by a *string* which runs through the middle,—bespeak, in my opinion, the habits of high antiquity, religiously preserved up to a recent date by a nation which, beyond all other nations, is wont to cherish its antiquity, and to defend it, even in practical life, against the intrusions of modern arts. The MSS. I have seen are certainly not more than a few centuries old, as may be easily inferred from the fragility of the material of which they are composed; but I hold them to be genuine specimens of the manner in which books were formed at the earliest periods of the civilization of India. No one, however, ought, I should conceive, to be less surprised at seeing the word "string" becoming the name of "book," than a German who would call his own book "*Band*," translating, as it were, literally, the Sanskrit *sūtra*, and having recourse to the same figure of speech.

Since I contrast, in these remarks, opinion with opinion,—not

claiming any greater value for mine than that which may be permitted to the impressions and views of the individual mind,—I will not conceal that I hold the very nature of the works called “Sútra,” to have arisen from, and depended on, the material which was kept together by the “string.” I cannot consider it plausible that these works,—“written, as they are, in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form,”—which have been so well defined and described in Müller’s work (p. 71, ff.),—in which, to use his words, “shortness is the great object of this style of composition,”—should have been composed merely for the sake of being easily committed to memory. “To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature,” argues Müller (p. 74), “was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these Sútras and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses.” But, though I do not dispute that these Sútras were learnt, and are learnt, by heart up to this day, this circumstance alone does not explain why the matter thus to be

inculcated must have been written in such a manner “that an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son,” why, “every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy,” must have become “reduced to a mere skeleton.” Müller himself says (p. 501),—and I fully concur with him,—that “we can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian Parishads are from our universities. Feats of memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary.” And, as he himself produces proof that the three Vedas and their Bráhmanas *were* learnt by heart, it does not appear at all likely that the peculiar enigmatical form of this Sútra literature was invented simply to suit the convenience of a memory the capacities of which must have been extraordinary.

The reason which accounts for this form is, in my opinion, of a far more prosaic kind. I hold that it is the awkwardness, the fragility, and, in some parts of India, perhaps the scarcity of

proper natural leaves, which imposed upon an author the happy restraint of "economizing half a short vowel;" that the scantiness of the writing material compelled authors to be very concise, and betrayed them, as a consequence, into becoming obscure.

Vaidik hymns and sacrificial Bráhmaṇas stand, clearly, under a different predicament to works on grammar or philosophy. A god cannot be invited with *anubandhas* to partake of the sacrificial meal, nor the religious feelings of a nation be roused with hard and unintelligible phraseology; but the purpose of a grammar may be attained, if there be need to save space, by an artificial method; and a philosophical doctrine may be propounded in riddles, as we can testify in our own days. I draw here, of course, a line between genuine and artificial Sūtras, —the former, in my opinion, a creation of material necessity; the latter, a mere imitation when this necessity had ceased. The Sūtras of Páṇini, in their dignified brevity, and the Sūtras of the Buddhists, in their tedious prolixity, are, probably, the two.

opposite poles;²³ but it requires, I conceive, no great effort to see that there is a gap, even between Páṇini and the Yoga-Sūtras, nay, between him and the Mīmāṃsā- and Vedānta-Sūtras as well as the Nyāya-Sūtras and the Sāṅkhya-Pravachana.

Turning now to the second word I have mentioned above, with the word Sūtra, I will say at once, that *grantha* likewise appears to me to have become the name of a book, not on account of the connection which exists between the different parts of a literary composition, but on account of the connection of the leaves which form its bulk. Professor Weber, who makes Páṇini live

²³ The lamented Burnouf has given a description of these Sūtras, in his invaluable work on the "Buddhisme Indien," p. 36, ff. He particularly points out,—and the fact is important,—that amongst these caricatures of the Bráhmaṇic Sūtras, there are several which have the enigmatic brevity of the latter; he distinguishes, therefore, between Sūtras which may be attributed to Śákyamuni, and Sūtras which belong to subsequent periods. See "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien," p. 104, ff.

about 140 years after Christ,²⁴ but who, nevertheless, is favourable to the view I take of Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing, says, in the "Indische Studien," vol. iv. p. 89, that "the word *grantha*, which is several times used by Pāṇini, refers, according to its etymology, decidedly to written texts;" yet he informs us (p. 436), that "the word *grantha* is referred by Böhlingk-Roth to the *composition*." Whether the latter remark is made "*pūjārtham*," or whether this author,—according to his habit of leaving the reader to make his own choice amongst a variety of conflicting opinions,—intended to establish a *vibhāṣā*,²⁵ or whether he has altered his original view, is more than I can decide, since he has neither supported his first opinion with any explanatory remark, nor expressed adhesion or dissent when he concluded his fourth volume of the "Indische Studien."²⁶

²⁴ "Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 200, 202.

²⁵ Such is really the case in the, "Indische Literaturgeschichte," p. 183, note.

²⁶ Should I have overlooked any observation of his on this word, it would be quite

That *grantha*, according to its etymology, *may* mean "a literary composition," and that it has been used in that sense, is undeniable; yet I contend that it did not bear this metaphorical sense before it was used in the literal meaning of "a series of leaves;" or, in other words, before it designated a written book. Previously to supporting this opinion with other arguments than those which are implied in my remarks on *sūtra*, I consider it necessary to remove the suspicion which has been thrown by Müller on this legitimate word. He quotes the four Sūtras in Pāṇini where it occurs,²⁷ but remarks in the note of p. 45, "The word *grantha*, used in the Sūtra (IV. 3, 87), is always somewhat suspicious."

unintentional, since I have been guided in my quotations by the excellent indices he has appended to his volumes. All I mean to convey is, that the only justification he gives for the sense, "written work," of *grantha*, viz., the etymology of the word, does not appear to be a sufficient one, since Müller is certainly right when he remarks (p. 522), that *grantha*, *nectere*, *serere*, might be taken also in a figurative sense.

²⁷ Compare also, IV. 3, 101, v. 2; 105, v. 2; the *Kāśikā* on V. 1, 10, v. 1: पीरवेवो यन्तः ; on IV. 2, 62: ब्राह्मणसदृशो यन्त्रो ऽनुब्राह्मणम् ; on IV. 2, 63: वसन्तसहचरितो

The reason for this sweeping doubt is contained, I suppose, in the words which immediately follow : "That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pāṇini's Grammar, did not proceed from him, is

यन्मो वसन्त रजुश्चते : on III. 1, 89, v. 1 (a Vārtika of the Bhāradwājīyas, according to Patanjali) : **यन्वते यन्वः :** on VII. 3, 4 : **स्वरमधिष्ठाय हतो यन्वः सीवरो यन्वः** :—Of one of the Sūtras he quotes, viz. I. 3, 75, Müller observes, (p. 522) that it is used there "so as to apply to the *Veda*." This remark concerns the commentator, but not Pāṇini, who, as he correctly states, a few lines afterwards, uses *grantha* as "opposed to a traditional work." I do not believe that the commentator is absolutely wrong, as will appear from my subsequent remarks; but I think that he might have chosen a better instance. By commentary, however, I do not understand Patanjali's Bhāṣya, which has no remark on this Sūtra, nor the Kāśikā, which has the counter-instance, **उच्यते चिकित्सां विवः** : the first trace of this instance I find in the Siddh.-k. (fol. 167 a.),—uncorrected in the Praudhamanoramā,—whence it has crept into more recent books, e. g., the abridged Commentary of Nāgōji on Pāṇini's Sūtras. This instance, one of many, will corroborate my statement in note 21, that the compilation of the Calcutta Pañḍits,—however meritorious, and superior to its mutilated and unauthorized reprint,—so far from admitting of being identified with Pāṇini himself, ought not to be used as evidence for or against Pāṇini, without a knowledge of the source whence it has derived its instances.

I feel grieved that I cannot leave this note without destroying one of the most

acknowledged by Kaiyyāta (*cf.* IV. 3. 131, 132) : "and in the first note of p. 361, where he writes, 'Pān., IV. 3, 116, हतो यन्वः ।' Kaiyyāta says that this Sūtra does not belong to Pāṇini." That there are *three*, perhaps *four* Sūtras in Pāṇini's Grammar, which

poetical illusions of Professor Weber, connected with this word *grantha*. From the stream of imaginary narrative which meanders through the desert of his "Literaturgeschichte," emerges, *à propos* of the Rāmāyana (p. 182), the remark, that this masterpiece of Hindu poetry was probably preceded by some other epic works. To prove that which cannot be proved without a knowledge of the date of the Rāmāyana, which we have not,—and without a knowledge of those epic poems, which likewise we have not,—but which is plausible enough without any proof, he quotes Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 3, 88, which treats on the titles of some *granthas*. Among these *granthas* (which are, to his imagination, epic poems), is one called *Śiśukrandiya*, which therefore is, to him, a forerunner of the Rāmāyana. The same ingenious conjecture occurs in his "Indische Studien," vol. i. p. 155, where he grows somewhat indignant at Wilson, who, in his Dictionary, renders this term "a work treating of infantine or juvenile grievances," for he adorns Wilson, for this rendering, with a query and note of admiration ("Wilson dict. ? !"). Now, whether *śiśukrandiya* ought to have been, by right, the title of an epic poem (in the same manner as we learn, from another work what the words in the Vedas *ought* to have meant, if they had profited by the last results of Sanskrit

probably did not belong to his work originally, I will concede;²⁸ but amongst these three or four Sūtras out of 3996, there is no

and comparative philology), I am unable to say. Nevertheless, I believe that Wilson is right; for the *Kārikā* explains this word, शिशूनां कन्दं शिशुकन्दं तमधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः, and the *Viṅaratan-mahodadhī* has even an additional remark: शिशूनां नावाशिषां कन्दसमधिष्ठत् इतो यन्मः शिशुकन्दीयः। वाचस्पत्यः. — It is, in other terms, “a book for children, written with reference to their cries,”—a kind of nursery-book for naughty babies.

²⁸ Dr. Otto Boehlingk was the first who drew attention to this fact, in the volume which he has annexed to his garbled and unauthorized reprint of the meritorious labour of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini. In a note of p. xx. of his Preface, he enumerates *several* Sūtras, which, according to him, “were originally Vārttikas, and only at a later time became embodied into the text of Pāṇini;” viz., “IV. 1. 166, 167; IV. 3. 132; V. 1. 36; VI. 1. 62, 100, 136.” It certainly raises a strong doubt as to the authenticity of a Sūtra, if it occurs also as a Vārttika of Kātyāyana; but I hold the indispensable conditions for confirming such a doubt to be—1. that the Vārttika must really belong to Kātyāyana; 2. that the wording of the Vārttika must be *identical* with that of the doubted Sūtra; and 3. that both must have the *same tendency*. In the first place, however, we are entitled to consider as Vārttikas of Kātyāyana only such as occur in, and,—what is invariably then the case,—are commented upon by, the Bhāṣya of Patañjali. Vārttikas found in the Kāśikā or Siddhāntakaumudī, but not in the Bhāṣya,

Sūtra containing the word *grantha*; for I believe Müller was mistaken when he says that Kaiyaṭa acknowledges that the

may be, and *evidently* are in many instances, the critical additions of later times. They afford no basis for doubting the genuineness of a Sūtra in Pāṇini; nor is a mere remark of Kaiyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali, that “some” consider a Sūtra as having been a Vārttika, sufficient to cancel the Sūtra from amongst the original rules. Secondly, if a Vārttika is not worded in the same manner as the Sūtra,—excepting, of course, the usual addition of Kātyāyana, इति वक्तव्यम्,—the mere similarity of both is no sufficient ground for doubting the originality of the Sūtra; for the difference in the wording of the Vārttika may have, as it *very frequently* has, the mere object of criticizing the manner in which Pāṇini delivered his rule. Lastly, if the Vārttika and Sūtra are identical in words, but not in tendency, there is not the slightest ground for doubting the authenticity of the Sūtra, though Kaiyaṭa may historically record that “some” have preferred to “throw it among the Vārttikas.” In applying these tests to the enumeration given by Dr. Boehlingk, we find, that IV. 1. 166 does *not* occur literally in the Vārttika 3 of IV. 1. 163; for, though the Calcutta editors write वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम्, and append their mark, that it occurs in the Siddh.-k. (the printed edition of this work contains on p. 65a, line 1, the words वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्)—the wording of this Vārttika, in the Bhāṣya is (MS., E.I.H., 330), वृद्धस्य च पूजायां युवसंज्ञा वक्तव्यम् (probably युवसंज्ञेति वक्तव्यम्); but even if the additional words belong, as is possible, not to the Vārttika, but to the Bhāṣya, it is clear

whatever on this Sūtra; but even should the mistake be mine, there would be little importance in the mere doubt of Kaiyyaṭa, since Patañjali, when commenting on the Vārttikas to IV. 3, 105,

it would seem, therefore, that the Vārtika to VI. 1, 99, maintains the condition, but corrects the option वा, by the word निश्चयम्. I must admit, however, that Patanjali gives the instance पटपटादिनि, which would countenance the probability of this Sūtra, also, not being an original one. Lastly, the Sūtra VI. 1, 136, चतुष्पादस्य वाचि ऽपि neither occurs as a Vārtika in the Bhāṣya, nor even as a Vārtika in the Kāśikā or the Siddh.-k.; nor has its original existence, in fact, been doubted by anybody except Dr. Boehtlingk, who writes in his so-called Commentary (p. 256), "This Sūtra has been interpolated at a later time; it owes its origin to the following two Vārtikas to the preceding Sūtra, चतुष्पाद उपसंख्यानम् ११ चतुष्पादस्य वाचि च २२ Compare Siddh.-k. p. 144a; where, however, the reader will not find anything relating to the subject, while, on p. 145a, he will discover the Sūtra, IV. 1, 136, such as it is in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini. That both Vārtikas are a criticism of Kātyāyana, who clearly disapproved of the condensed wording of the Sūtra 136, did not even occur to the mind of Dr. Boehtlingk; but, considering the condition of his knowledge of Pāṇini, as displayed in this "Commentary," and even in his very last work, I cannot but express the belief, that his "αιὶὸς ἔφα" to strike out a Sūtra of Pāṇini, goes for very little indeed,—especially as it touches upon the sphere of reasoning.

distinctly quotes twice the Sūtra IV. 3, 116, which is a positive proof that it existed at his time, and was genuine enough.²⁸

I will now give an instance from the Mahābhārata, which, in my belief, would be perfectly unintelligible, if *grantha* were taken only in the sense of "composition," and not also in that of "written book," or "volume." I am met here, however, with an objection; viz., that I ought first to show that the Mahābhārata possesses the qualification which Müller has appended to his quoted remark, or, in other words, that it is a work of "the early literature," since he says that "*grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, in 'the

early literature,' " while he admits that it has that sense in the later literature. Both Müller and Weber agree that there was a Mahābhārata at the time of Āśwalāyana, since they quote a passage from his Gṛhya-Sūtra, where the name occurs (Müller, p. 42; Weber, "Literaturgeschichte," p. 56), and neither denies that a work prior to Āśwalāyana would have a claim to be called a work of the earlier literature. Both scholars however question,—and very rightly too,—the claim of the *present* Mahābhārata, to having been *that* Mahābhārata which is quoted by Āśwalāyana. It is, of course, impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to everyone who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature. To do justice to a subject of this kind, I should have not merely to enter into details which would be here out of place, but to discuss the prior important question, as to how far the printed text in which this colossal

²⁸ There is no Bhāṣya on IV. 3, 116, and, therefore, no commentary of Kaiyaṣa on this Sūtra. On the Vārtika 2, to IV. 3, 105, कृते यन्ने मषिकादियो ऽह् which is a criticism on Pāṇini IV. 3, 116, on account of the addition, मषिकादियो ऽह्, and, therefore, a proof that the latter Sūtra was originally existing, Patanjali says: कृते यन्ने इत्यत्र (i. e., IV. 3, 116) मषिकादियो ऽह् यत्तत्र: । मषिकाभिः कृते माषिकम्; and on a third Vārtika खनविभाषातिष्ठ which is not printed in the Calcutta edition, he observes, खनविभाषा: खनिकते । कृते यन्ने (IV. 3, 116) ततः सञ्चारो (IV. 3, 117) न कृत एवेति किञ्चैव सञ्चारिहिनं प्रलयो भवति.

epos is generally known to us, may be relied upon ; and I should feel all the more bound to do so, as my collations of considerable portions of this text with the best MSS., in this country and abroad, fully convince me that it is neither advisable to make a translation of the Mahābhārata,—a labour which, if done once, should be done once for all,—nor to found a detailed criticism of the several portions of this work, on the printed text, however much I admire the industry, patience, and scholarship, of those who have accomplished the task of laying before us a first edition of this enormous work. Without their labours, it would have been still more difficult than it now is, to perceive the defects of the MSS.; but this tribute, which I gladly pay to their merits, does not dispense with my expressing the conviction, derived from my own labours, that no conclusion founded on special passages of the present text, is safe, before the differences of the MSS.—sometimes great—are thoroughly sifted and discussed with the help of the Commentaries.³⁰

³⁰ Weber ("Indische Studien," I. p. 148) and Müller (pp. 44, 45, note) give a

In proceeding now to give an instance which I hold to belong to the early (though not the earliest) portions of the Mahā-

valuable synopsis of the leading characters of the Mahābhārata, as they occur in the text and the commentaries of Pāṇini. This synopsis, I conceive, must convince even the most sceptic, that Pāṇini cannot have ignored the renown of these personages, nor consequently, it is probable, the real or poetical events on which this renown was founded. It forms the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata. Some stress has been laid by both scholars on the circumstance, that the name Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍava does not occur in the Grammar of Pāṇini (Weber, "Indische Studien," p. 148; Müller, p. 44); but, since both have constructed their list as well from the Gāṇas and commentaries as from the Sūtras, it will not be amiss to add, that *Pāṇḍava* occurs in Kālyāṇa's gloss on Patañjali to IV. 1, 168, v. 4, and in the Kāśikā on IV. 1, 171, when the observation of the former implies, what I pointed at in a former remark, that the word Pāṇḍu does not occur in the Vārtika, as the name of Yudhiṣṭhira's father, because the word Pāṇḍava is too common a derivation to require a grammatical rule; Vārtika, पाण्डोर्वाच् यत्त्वः.—Patañjali, पाण्डः.—Kālyāṇa, पाण्डोरिति । बाह्वादिप्रभृति (IV. 1, 96, etc.) चेत्तर्ह्यनं कीदृशे गोवत्पाव इति (words of Patañjali on a previous Vārtika) दध्नामुचिदि-रादिषुः पाण्डोरयहात्वाचिवः । पाण्डव इति अपत्तिः.—Kāśikā on the same Vārtika (differently worded; quoted in the Calcutta edition, under the Śloka IV. 1, 168, in the MSS. under IV. 1, 171), पाण्डः । दध्नात्पाण्डव एव. The word पाण्डवेय occurs in the Kāśikā on the Gāṇa IV. 1, 123.

bhārata, I must submit, therefore, to having its validity acknowledged or rejected, according to the value the reader may attach to my opinion. Not to be misunderstood, however, I will add that I consider it as posterior to Pāṇini. But, as the date I shall assign hereafter to this grammarian will be older than the date originated by Dr. Boehtlingk, the passage in question will still be entitled to rank among the earlier literature. In the *Sāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata we read : "Vasishtha spoke (to Janaka) 'The doctrines of the Vedas and the (philosophical) Śāstras which thou hast uttered, are rightly uttered by thee, but thou understandest them not; for the text (*grantha*) of the Vedas

and Śāstras is possessed by thee, yet, king, thou dost not know the real sense of the text (*grantha*) according to its truth; for he who is merely bent upon possessing the text (*grantha*) of the Veda and Śāstra, but does not understand the real sense of the text, his possession of them is an idle one; he carries *the weight of the book (grantha)* who does not know the sense of it; but he who knows the real sense of the text (*grantha*), his is not an idle acquisition of the text." In this instance, *grantha* is used in its double sense, composition or text, and *book*; for there can be no doubt that in the passage, "*Bhāraṃ sa vahaṭe tasya granthasya*," "he carries the weight of the *grantha*," the last word can only refer to the material bulk of the book.

अवता वेदोक्तविद्येयम् । एवमेतच्चा चित्तं मुकति (for चित्तमिदम्) तच्चा भवात् । भावेति हि तच्चा यन्म उभयोर्वेदशास्त्रयोः । न च यन्मस्य तत्त्वज्ञो यथावत् (for यथा न त्) परिहर । यो हि वेदे च शास्त्रे च यन्मधारयत्यतः । न च यन्मार्ध- तत्त्वज्ञस्य तत्कारव्यं युष्मा । भारं स वहति तस्य यन्मकार्यं न वेति चः । यस्य यन्मा- र्धतत्त्वज्ञो वाक्य यन्मावलो युष्मा ।

I will conclude my observations on this word with a remark on the phrase, "*granthato 'rthataścha*," which must undoubtedly be rendered in the sense proposed by Müller, "according to the text and according to the meaning." An analogous contrast, exactly in the same sense, is that of *kāṇḍa* and *padārtha*, which is of fre-

quent occurrence in Mīmāṃsā writers.²² That, in the latter case, the meaning “text” is a secondary one of *kāṇḍa*, no one will dispute, since there is nothing in this word which points to “composition.” It must be allowable therefore to conceive, that its synonyme *grantha* may, through the same mental process as *kāṇḍa*, have assumed the secondary meaning of “text.”

There is another important word which Müller will not admit as evidence of Pāṇini’s having had a knowledge of writing,—for it is used by this grammarian,—the word *varna*. But the only reason he gives for invalidating its testimony is, that this word which, etymologically and otherwise, really means “colour,”—when having the sense of letter “does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice” (p. 507). In the absence of any proof for this assertion, he adds, in a note: “Aristotle, Probl. x. 39 : τὰ δὲ γράμματα πᾶσι εἰσι τῆς

φωνῆς.” In this respect he coincides, for once, with Weber, not merely in the point at issue, but also in the remarkable brevity of his argument. For all that Weber says on the subject (“Indische Studien,” iv. 109) is: “The name *varna* is probably (*wohl*) to be understood of the ‘colouring,’ specializing (*specialisierend*) of the sound; compare *rakta*, which is employed in the Rikprātiśākhya in the sense of ‘nasalised’ (*nasalirt*). With *writing* it has nothing to do.” Now, I confess, that I always become somewhat suspicious when I meet with a definition which prefers the language of similes to plain prose. How, I must ask, for instance, does the figure of colouring apply to the notion of specialising? It is striking, moreover, that Weber, who starts with a *probability*, in two lines reaches a positive certainty, founded only on the analogy of *rakta*. And, in turning again to Müller’s words, I must, in the first place, ask, what does an analogy taken from Aristotle prove for the Sanskrit word? But, supposing it could prove anything, would it not be more plausible to make use of it in favour of the contrary conclusion to that which Müller

²² E.g. in Mādāhara’s Jaiminiya-ayāya-māla-vistara, where वाङ्मनसम् is contrasted with पदवाङ्मनसम्, for instance, V. 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc. etc.

has drawn ? Aristotle speaks of *γράφματα*, which word applies originally to none but *written* signs ; and if *he* may apply *γράφματα* to the voice, might not the same liberty be claimed for a Sanskrit word meaning a written letter ? Again, the notion of “ colouring,” itself supposes necessarily a condition which may be called indifferent or colourless : green, blue, red, are colours, because there is an indifferent condition, called white. A coloured sound is not intelligible, except on the supposition that there is also an indifferent or uncoloured sound. Hence we speak, for instance, in modern terminology, of *i, u, r, e, o*, etc., as coloured vowels, because we contrast them with the fundamental uncoloured vowel *a*. But I shall show that *varṇa* is applied indifferently to all vowels, inclusive of *a*.

I do not dispute that *varṇa* is used like *γράφματα*, “ letter,” also for the spoken letter,²² but I hold that there is strong

evidence to prove that its *original* sense is that of *written* letter, as arising naturally from its primitive sense “ colour,” and that the appearance of this word in Pāṇini or other authors, may serve as one of many arguments that they practised the art of writing. To make good this statement I must advert to another word which may also mean letter, and in this sense is always the latter part of a compound, the former of which is the letter itself designated by it, viz., the word *kāra* ; e. g. *a-kāra*, the letter *a* ; *i-kāra*, the letter *i*, etc. It corresponds with *varṇa*, in the synonymous expressions, *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, etc. Kātyāyana looks upon it in the light of an affix, probably on account of its being always compounded with the letter itself ; and Kaiyyāṭa enlarges upon the expression *varṇa*, in saying that this word means, in the Vārttika quoted, “ that which expresses a *varṇa* or adequately realizes a *varṇa* (*i. e.*, is the adequate value of a *varṇa*).” He, therefore, like Kātyāyana, contrasts the purport of *kāra* and *varṇa*, though *a-kāra* and *a-varṇa*, *i-kāra* and *i-varṇa*, may appear to be,—and we shall see

²² Thus Nagojibhaṭṭa explains, in the commencement of the *Vivarṇa*, **वादो वर्णः** ; or Kaiyyāṭa says : **वाच्यवर्णो ये वर्णाः** etc.

from what reason,—convertible terms.³⁴ To understand, however, this contrast, and the use of two other terms which I shall have to name, I will first give instances from Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and the Bhāṣya, which will illustrate the manner in which these grammarians have used both terms.

We find : *a-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (omitted in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini); II. 4, 30, v. 4.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2; III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.;—*ā-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, v. 4; I. 1, 56, v. 11; III.

³⁴ Vārttika 3, III. 3, 108 : वर्षोत्कारः वर्षोत्कारप्रत्ययो वल्लभः । अकार हकारः; Kaiyyāṣa—वर्षोदिति वर्षवाचिनो वर्षोत्कारादित्यर्थः । चञ्चलपदवा-
त्कञ्चिन्नं भवति । अस्मिन् अस्मादिति (VII. 4, 32) यथा तथा कञ्चिद्वैयमुदयागुकरवा-
दयि ह्यकार इति. To remove the apparent strangeness of the manner in which I have
rendered अनुकरस्व which usually means “imitating, doing in conformity with,” I sub-
join two other instances from Kaiyyāṣa, where the same word is also used by him in the
sense of “adequate, or real value.” Kātyāyana having given this derivation of अकार,
“अन्नोतिवा यतो ऽचरम्,” and Patanjali having added अन्नोतिवा पुनर्यमीवादि-
कः सरम्भत्वाः, Kaiyyāṣa observes अन्नोतिवेति । सरम्भत्वाः अनुवचनोपेति इति अनुकरस्व सर
इति etc. ; or सर्वेषामकाराणां यत्सामान्यं तदनुकरायमाकारः.

1, 8, P.; VI. 1, 87, kār. 2, P.;—*i-kāra*, III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.; IV. 4, 128, v. 2;—*i-kāra*, VII. 1, 39, v. 3; VIII. 2, 15, v. 1, P.;—*u-kāra*, VI. 1, 185, par. 1, P.;—*ri-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2 and Vārtt. (om. in the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 1, P.; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1; *ri-kāra*, VI. 1, 87, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.);—*lṛi-kāra*, P. on Śivas. 2; Śivas. 4, v. 5, (om. Calc. ed.); I. 1, 9, v. 2; VI. 1, 101, v. 2, P.;—*e-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.), IV. 3, 23, v. 6;—*o-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 3 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1; VII. 2, 1, v. 1, 2, 3; VIII. 3, 20, v. 1;—*au-kāra*, VIII. 2, 89, P.;—*ka-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4, 5 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 3, 44, v. 1, P.;—*ṅa-kāra*, I. 3, 12, v. 1, P.;—*cha-kāra*, P. on III. 1, 8;—*jha-kāra* and *ña-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.);—*ṇa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 (om. Calc. ed.); VI. 1, 1, v. 10; VI. 4, 120, v. 1; VIII. 3, 55, v. 1, P.;—*ta-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 48, v. 1;—*da-kāra* and *pa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 4;—*dha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 78, v. 1, P. and v. 3;—*na-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 2;—*bha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 8 (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 72, v. 1;

—*ma-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 7 ;—*ya-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 6 ;—*la-kāra*, I. 3, 3, v. 2 ;—*va-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*śa-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 ;—*sha-kāra*, VI. 1, 1, v. 10 ;—*sa-kāra*, V. 3, 72, v. 1 ;—*ha-kāra*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 5 (all these Vārtt. to the Śivas. om. in the Calc. ed.).

On the other hand: *a-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1 (om. Calc. ed.); IV. 1, 1, v. 3 ; VI. 3, 97, v. (not of K., but mentioned in P.); VIII. 3, 64, v. 3 ; VII. 1, 82, v. 2 ; and in the *Sūtras*: VI. 1, 182 ; VI. 2, 90 ; VI. 3, 112 ;—*i-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to the Śivas. 1 and 3 (om. Calc. ed.); VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.; Sūtra VII. 4, 53 ; *u-varṇa*, P. on a Vārtt. to Śivas. 1. (om. Calc. ed.); V. 3, 83, v. 5, and Kār. 1 ; VII. 2, 10. P.; VIII. 2, 106, v. 1. P.;—*varṇa y* (or *y-varṇa*) Sūtra VII. 4, 53.³³

³³ The instances quoted are restricted, as I have stated, to the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, as they occur in the Bhāṣhya of Patanjali, and to the latter, (marked P.) Some of the above-named Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, “Kāsī,” or “Siddh.-k.,” but they occur, too, in the Bhāṣhya. These instances might have been multiplied, and had it been necessary to add quotations from the Kāsīkā, Siddh.-k.,

The foregoing combinations of a letter of the alphabet with *kāra* and *varṇa* are, I believe, all that occur in the grammarians named, and they show at once, that *kāra* enters into composition with all vowels and all consonants, provided the latter are followed by the letter *u*—(for it may be assumed without risk that the absence of some combinations, such as *kha-kāra*, *gha-kāra*, etc.,

or the words of the Calcutta editors: f. i. by *ṛ-kāra*, VI. 1, 91, Kāsīkā ; Kalyāṇa on Śivas. 5 ;—*ṣha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 7, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāsīkā ;—*ḍha-kāra*, VIII. 3, 55, Kāsīkā ;—*tha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 7, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 3, 34, Kāsīkā ;—*na-kāra*, VIII. 2, 16, Kāsīkā ;—*pha-kāra*, I. 2, 23, Kāsīkā ; VIII. 4, 54, Kāsīkā ;—*ja-kāra*, I. 3, 8, Kāsīkā ;—or *ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. ; V. 3, 83, v. 5, Kāsīkā (thus quoted in the Calcutta edition, but not met with in the MS. 2441 of the E.I.H.) ; VIII. 4, 1, v. 1, Kāsīkā and Siddh.-k. ;—*ṛi-carṇa*, I. 1, 9, v. 1, Siddh.-k. The very unusual *ra-kāra* in the Commentary to VIII. 2, 15 (it occurs chiefly in mystical, not in grammatical, works ; e.g. in the dialogue between Uśā and Śiva of the Rudrāyāmalatantra), I must leave to the responsibility of the Calcutta editors ; for the Bhāṣhya on the Vārttika does not speak of the letter *ra*, and the Kāsīkā and Siddh.-k. have, instead of *raḍrāṇatāt*, the usual *rephāṇatāt*. I have omitted, of course, to quote passages of the *Sūtras*, etc., where *varṇa* or *kāra* have other meanings than “letter.”

is merely a matter of chance, not of necessity; compare the additional instances of the note 35)—while *varṇa* is joined merely to vowels and to such consonants as are *without a vowel sound*²⁸ (*cf.* Sūtra, VII. 4, 53).

This circumstance is significant, but at once intelligible, if we draw a distinction between a spoken sound and a written letter. To sound a consonant (*k*, *t*, *p*, etc.) we must combine it with a vowel; in writing, we may omit that vowel, and should omit it, unless it have its own peculiar value: the spoken *k* has a different value to the written *ka*, which means *k* and *a*. Unless, therefore, Pāṇini intended, for instance, to give a rule on *y* and *a*, he could not employ a term *ya*, which merely refers to the spoken sound *y*; or, if he did so, he would have had to give a special rule to the effect that the sound *a* in this combination is mute or insignificant, as he has given various rules to a similar

²⁸ Pāṇini never uses *varṇa* of a consonant followed by the vowel *a*; but the late Kāśikā writes *सुम हलितावर्णो*, or *सवर्णद हलितावर्णो*, if the MSS. are to be trusted.

effect when he employs for his technical purposes *anubandhas* or letters without significance. Now, such a rule on the suppression of vowels which appear in his grammar, but are not to be sounded when the word with which they are combined becomes a spoken word, is given by him (I. 3, 2), but for a distinct and special purpose, and not with the intent of *general* application; a vowel, such as it is treated in this rule, is (and ought to have been always edited with the appropriate sign) *anunāsika*. Therefore, when Pāṇini gives a rule in which the vowel *a* is appended to a consonant, but valueless,—though the absence of its value would not follow from the rule quoted (I. 3, 2) or otherwise,—the commentators notice such an exceptional case as worthy of a special remark, and defend it in their fashion if they deem it advisable.²⁷ In other words, expressions like *a-kāra*, *i-kāra*, *u-kāra*, etc., and *a-varṇa*, *i-varṇa*, *u-varṇa*, etc., are

²⁷ The Kāśikā, e.g., observes on the Śivasūtra चञ्च, — इकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थं नानुबन्धः । स्वकारे लृतासिक्क हस्तिः प्रतिपाद्यते; or the Sūtra VII. 1, 25 चट्टु where the first च is mute, is excused by Kāśikāyana in this way: चिह्नं लृतासिक्कौपधात्.

equivalent, because the value of a *spoken vowel* coincides with that of the *written vowel-sign*; they admit of a doubt whether *kára* or *varṇa*, or both or neither, apply to a written sign; but when we see that *sa-kára*, *bha-kára*, *na-kára*, *sha-kára*, *ta-kára*, etc., are portions of rules, in which not *sa*, *bha*, *na*, *sha*, *ta*, etc., but *s*, *bh*, *n*, *śh*, *t*, etc., are meant, we perceive at once that *kára* must apply to the uttered sound. On the other hand, when Pāṇini speaks (VII. 4, 53) of two *varṇas*, *yí*, i.e. of a *varṇa y* and of a *varṇa i*, we must conclude that *varṇa* did not apply to the spoken sound, but to the written sign, since the value *y* without a vowel would be unpronounceable.

I will give some additional proof for this conclusion on the meaning of both these words. In the foregoing remarks I rendered *kára* in combination with *i*, *u*, *ea*, etc. "letter," since we use this word in its double acceptation, uttered sound and written sign. If *kára*, however, is the uttered sound, it will be a synonyme of *śabda*, and we find it therefore, e.g. in the comment of the Kāśikā, used as a convertible term with *śabda*.²⁸ This is never the case with *varṇa*.

²⁸ Pāṇini (VIII. 2, 37) uses the expression स्योः, which is rendered by the Kāśikā

Since an uttered sound may comprise more than *one* letter, we find *kára*, as Kaiyaṭa already remarks (compare note 34), equally applied to complicated sounds, e.g. *eva-kára* (III. 4, 67, v. 3 and 6; I. 4, 8, Kās.; VI. 2, 80 P.); and Pāṇini, who never uses it for expressing a simple letter-sound (because his terms are such as apply to a written book), applies it to the sound *vashat* in *vashat-kára* (I. 2, 35). *Varṇa* is never used in a similar manner.

In this respect *kára* coincides with the term *karana*, which occurs in combinations quite analogous, e.g. *iti-karana*, I. 1, 44, v. 1, P.; IV. 2, 21, v. 2, P.; *duk-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 3; *chit-karana*, VII. 1, 25, v. 4; 3, 118, v. 6; *chit-karana*, III. 1, 8, v. 4, P.; or even combined with *kára*, as *evakára-karana*, VI. 2, 80, Kās., etc. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, is used by Kātyāyana and Pa-

सकारे च. The word *सुद्ध* is used in a similar manner, e.g., in these combinations: तिपुद्ध, VI. 2, 81, Kāśikā (ति being there the last syllable of *यिति*); तुपुद्ध, VI. 2, 50, Kāśikā (तु being affix); सुपुद्ध, VII. 1, 25, v. 4, P. (सुद्ध being the ending of pronouns in the neuter); सुपुद्ध, VII. 1, 30, v. 1, P. (सुद्ध being the declension ending).

tanjali in the same manner as in Pāṇini's Sūtra which speaks of the *varṇa y*, viz., of *unutterable consonantal sounds*, which therefore must have been written signs. Thus, a discussion is raised by Kātyāyana on the Sūtra VI. 4, 49, which treats of the elision of *ya*, in reference to the question whether *ya* is to be dropped or merely *y*; and on this occasion, he calls the former *sanghāta*, "combination," (viz., of *y* and *a*), and the latter *varṇa*. In a Vārtika to VII. 3, 50, a similar discussion is started on *ha*; again, *ha* is called there *sanghāta*, and the unpronounceable *th*, *varṇa*. The same term *sanghāta* is applied to *ka* in a Vārtika to VII. 3, 44, and *varṇa* to the vowelless *k*.

The same sense of *varṇa* is conveyed by a definition of Patanjali concerning the term *upadeśa*, which literally means demonstration, and then assumes the special sense of grammatical mode of denoting, or of grammatical appearance, and of the book in which such grammatical denotations occur:²⁹ it means, for instance, the

²⁹ Patanjali on the Sūtra I. 3, 2: किं पुनरुपदेशम् । शास्त्रम् । A Vārtika on I. 3, 3: सिद्धं तु अवसितांशत्वात्; on which Patanjali comments: सिद्धमेतत् । कश्चम् ।

grammatical appearance of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, or the Dhātupāṭha itself; and, in like manner, the grammatical appearance of the letters in the Śivasūtras, "the root of Pāṇini's Grammar."

अवसितांशत्वात् । अवसितांशो ह्यसिद्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana, says Patanjali, ought rather to have said अव . . . भवति; these latter words of Patanjali have been mistaken by the Calcutta editors for the Vārtika itself; and they of course again make their appearance in the reprint of Dr. Boehlingk, who besides, and for the sake of greater clearness, adds: "Ein Vārtika," and prints •वेत्, as if he had looked into the Mahābhāṣya and amended the "Vārtika" from the original work.—Patanjali then continues:) किं पुनरुपदेशः । धातुप्रतिपदिकप्रत्ययविधातावसादेषाः.—On account of the double sense of *upadeśa*, "book, etc." and "grammatical appearance," Patanjali raises this question when speaking of the Sūtra VI. 1, 45: कश्चमिदं विज्ञायते । एष उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदेवं यदुपदेश इति, when Kātyāyana is still more explicit: कश्चमिति । यदुपदेशश्चैव कारवाचनेन शास्त्रमुच्यते तदा विशेषानुपादानादिव नास्ति तदन्वविधिरित्ययं पक्षो भवति एष उपदेश इति । यदा तु कर्मवाचन उपदेशश्च उपदिशमानार्थवाची यच्चैव च सप्तमी तदुपदेशस्यैवविशेषात्तदन्वविधावित्थं पक्षो भवति एवम् यदुपदेश इति.—A similar question of Patanjali occurs in his com. on VI. 1, 186: यदुपदेशादिति कश्चमिदं विज्ञायते । क्वारो य उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारानं यदुपदेश इति.

mar," as Nagojibhatta calls them. For when Kātyāyana, in several introductory Vārtikas, enlarges on the purpose of the letters, as they occur in the Śivasūtras, Patanjali asks :⁴⁰ " Now, what is *upa-désa*, or technical denotation ? Pronunciation. How is that ? The radical *dīś*, 'to show,' (whence *upa-désa* is derived) implies the act of pronouncing ; for, after having pronounced the *varṇas*, one may say, 'these *varṇas* are *upadīśhā*, or technically denoted.' " Patanjali distinguishes, therefore, between *varṇas* and *upadīśhā-varṇas* ; only the latter are, according to him, the pronounceable *varṇas* ; and it would have been useless for him to draw this distinction, if *varṇa* itself originally signified the spoken letter.

What the *simple* consonantal sound is to the pronounceable consonant, the *simple* vowel is, in some measure, to the diphthong or combined vowel sound. It is, perhaps, on this ground that, while we find a general name for vowel-letters, viz., *svara-varṇa*

⁴⁰ Patanjali on the Introduction: **यच्च क उपदेशः । उच्चारणम् । कुत एतत् । दिशि-उच्चारणमिदं । उच्चार्य हि यर्वाणाम् । अयदिष्टा रुमि यर्वा रति ।**

(IV. 1, 3, v. 7), the compounds *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, *ai-varṇa*, *au-varṇa*, neither occur in Pāṇini nor Kātyāyana, for *e* is *a* and *i*, *o* = *a* and *u*, *ai* = *a* and *e*, *au* = *a* and *o*. Their general name is, in "older grammars," *sandhy-akṣhara* ; and in Kātyāyana and Patanjali, for *e* and *o*, *prāśishā-varṇa*, for *ai* and *au*, *samāhāra-varṇa*.⁴¹ The Kāśikā, it is true, speaks of these vowels simply as *varṇas* ;⁴² but, in the first place, it does not form a compound *e-varṇa*, etc., like *i-varṇa*, etc. ; and, secondly, however great the value of this commentary, it cannot always be considered as fulfilling the conditions of critical accuracy, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence against Pāṇini or Kātyāyana. But even if there were in Pāṇini's Grammar such compounds as *e-varṇa*, *o-varṇa*, their occurrence

⁴¹ Kaiyaṣa to Patanjali on Śivas. 3 and 4 : **संयचरादीन्वर्णेषु पूर्वोच्चार्यसंज्ञा-** Whether this term "older teachers" applies to the present Prāśikhya where the same term occurs, or not, will be included in the subsequent discussion on the relation of these works to Pāṇini's grammar.—Patanjali on the same Śivas. : **इमादिवी समाहारवर्णौ** the same on I. 1, 9 : **(ए ओ) प्रसिद्धवर्णवितौ**.

⁴² Kāśikā on the Śivas. 3 : **ए ओ इति यर्वा** ; on Śivas. 4 : **ए ओ इति यर्वा**.

would not invalidate the conclusion that *varṇa* represents the written sign, since it is the combination of *varṇa* with a consonant that alone can enable us to decide the question at issue. And that there are other values in Pāṇini which could not have been spoken, though they are an essential portion of his Grammar, will be seen afterwards.

How far *varṇa* coincides, and is synonymous with *akṣhara*, "syllable," or not, is obvious: it coincides with the latter term when it means vowel, otherwise not.⁴³ The distinction between these terms may therefore be comprised in the following definition: *kāra* denotes the pronounceable sound, which *must* always be one syllable, but may also consist of more than one syllable; if denoting one syllable, it may mean a simple vowel (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*), or a complex vowel (*e, o, ai, au*), or a simple consonant made pronounceable by a vowel (usually the vowel

a); *kāra* denotes more especially the pronounceable sound represented either by more than one syllable or by one syllable containing more than one consonant. *Varṇa*, on the contrary, implies merely the simple letter,—among vowels, especially the simple vowel; among consonants, merely the *single consonant, not accompanied with a vowel sign*. Lastly, *akṣhara* means "syllable" in our sense of the word, and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kāra*, or *varṇa*, in the same way that *kāra* and *varṇa* are apparently convertible terms when they are the latter parts of compounds, the former of which are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī*.

I have, in the foregoing observations, purposely abstained from alluding to the use which has been made of these terms in the existing Prātiśākhya of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana; in the first place, because it was my object to show their meaning in Pāṇini's work, as well as in those old Commentaries which have strictly adhered to his terminology, and because it would have been an uncritical proceeding to confound the meaning or bearing of these terms in works belonging to a different class of Hindu litera-

⁴³ Kalyāṇa on VIII. 2, 89: *अक्षरस्य*; the same on the Introduction to the Śivas.: *अक्षरं अक्षरसहितो ऽक्षः यथा च यवानह इति यवाक्षरमिति*.

ture ;⁴⁴ secondly, because the date of these works, themselves,—or, at least, their relative position towards Pāṇini,—will have to be ascertained, before any conclusion can be drawn from a difference which may have existed between them in the use of these terms. Though I shall recur to this point, I may now state my belief, that even if grammatical works older than Pāṇini had used *varṇa* in the general sense of *akṣhara*, such a circumstance would not disprove the fact that *varṇa* might have meant a written sign even before Pāṇini's time. There is, for instance, an introductory Vārtika

⁴⁴ This confusion, unhappily, does not seldom occur in the definition of words, as found in our dictionaries; thus, **वर्ण** is used by Yāska in the general sense "reduplicated," and as applied to a *dhātū*, or radical portion of the verb (Nir. IV. 23: **एरि एतीतिवपुहो ऽव्ययः**; or IV. 25: **एरिवाजुतिरव्ययः**); in Pāṇini, however, it means the first two syllables of a reduplicated *angā* or base (VI. 1, 5); **व्यय** means *reduplication*, in the *Nirukṭis* (V. 12), on the form **व्ययस्**, **आदिवाग्यसि**—**पदिसिर्वागमादौ सव्ययसकर्म**; in Pāṇini it means the first *syllable* of reduplication (VI. 1, 4). To philosophical terms this remark applies in a still stronger sense; they have been generally dealt with as if the same term, *c-g*, *मनस्*, **आत्मन्**, **बुद्धि**, etc., had the same sense in all the philosophical systems, which is not the case.

of Kātyāyana which countenances the assumption that *varṇa* had such a sense in some older grammarian; but the very manner in which it is brought before the reader shows that Kātyāyana contrasts the use of this word in Pāṇini with that in his predecessor, and confirms, therefore, the definition I have given before. At the same time, it leaves the question undecided whether *varṇa* was, or was not, a written letter in this older work. The Vārtika I am alluding to occurs at the end of the general introduction, and refers to the following Vaidik passage mentioned in the beginning of the introduction: "Whoever establishes this speech according to its words, its accent, and its syllables, he is fit to institute or to perform sacrificial work; and that it is a duty to study grammar, follows from the words 'let us be fit to institute, or to perform sacrificial work.'"⁴⁵ The Vārtika then says: "*akṣhara*, you must

⁴⁵ Patanjali: **यो वा एमां पदयः स्वरयो ऽव्ययो वाचं विदधाति स आलिखीनो भवति । आलिखीनाः स्वामिवचोचं वाक्यरसम्**; Kaiyaṣa: **आलिखमहेतीत्यालिखीनो व्यवसानः** (Pāṇini, V. 1, 71) । **आलिखमहेतीति वाक्यो ऽव्यालिखीकः** (ib. Vārtika).

know, means *na kshara*, i. e., not perishable," and continues, "or *akshara* comes from *as*, 'to pervade,' with the affix *sara* (*Kaiyya*: 'because it pervades the sense')," and concludes, "or they call *varṇa* so in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian)" [*Patanjali*: i. e. "or in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian) *varṇa* has the name *akshara*." *Kaiyya*: "For it is said in another grammar, that the *varṇas* are *aksharas*." *Nagojibhaṭṭa*: "In a similar manner the term *aksharasamānamāya* means a multitude of *varṇas*, as seen in the Vedas"].⁴⁶

Before I proceed to give other evidence as to Pāṇini's knowledge of writing, I will draw attention to two words which have here a claim to notice; and first to the word *úrdhwa*. It is used

* *Kātyāyana*: *अक्षरं न चरं विधातुं । चरतिर्वा सरो ऽक्षरम् । चरं वाचः पूर्वसूत्रे ।*
Patanjali (on the latter): *अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे चरं वाचरिति संज्ञा निबन्धे; Kātyāyana*
..... पूर्वसूत्रे इति । वाचरवाचरं चरं वाचरादिति वचनात्.....; Nagojibhaṭṭa
..... पूर्वसूत्रस्यैव हीतसूत्र इति भावः । एवं वाचरसमावाय एवमत्र नुतिस्मो
चरं वाचरात् एवमत्र तात्पर्यम्.

adverbially in the sense of "after;" for instance, in *Manu*, ix. 77, *úrdhwaṃ samvatsarāt*, "after a year," or, *Chhândogya-Upanishad*: *tata úrdhwaṃ vatsahyāmi*, "after that I shall say." But *úrdhwa* means, originally, "upwards, above, high, or (in combination with an ablative) higher." It is possible to conceive progress as an act of rising, when the sense "after" would follow from this latter acceptance. But it is more probable that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in books,—where it is frequently used in this way,—before it became a more general one; and, if so, the figure would naturally follow from the description I have given of a Hindu book; for the beginning of a Sanskrit MS.,—as may still be seen in some of the oldest specimens,—was at the bottom of the pile of leaves which constitute its bulk. What is "above," in a Hindu book, is, therefore, "after;" while, with us, the term "above" denotes the opposite sense, from the circumstance of the progress of our books being a descending one. And this assumption is corroborated by a second synonymous word, viz.: *udaya*, which also means, originally, "going upwards," and

then, "after, following," and which, moreover, is never used in this sense, except of passages in books. It occurs frequently thus in the Prātiśākhya; but, for the reasons stated before, I content myself with quoting, for its occurrence in Pāṇini, the Sūtra VIII. 4, 67.⁴

"If writing," says Müller, "had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing" (p. 507).

As Weber, in his "Indische Studien" (vol. iv. p. 89), had already mentioned two grammatical terms of "Pāṇini," viz., *swaritet* and *udāttet*, which he considers as "founded on graphical

appearance," I cannot suppose that Müller has overlooked the remark of this scholar, but must assume that he has silently rejected it, either on account of its incorrectness or its inconclusiveness. It is true, that the latter term does not occur at all in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, nor the former, such as it is given by Weber; but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that, in the Sūtra I. 3, 72, *swaritanīyas* must be analysed *swaritetas* and *nīyas* (comp. the commentaries), and on the other hand, Müller can neither have ignored that Pāṇini's expression, *anudāttāṅgīyas* (I. 3, 12), is equivalent to *anudāttetas* and *ṅgīyas*, nor that the term *anudāttet* distinctly occurs in the rules III. 2, 149 and VI. 1, 186. His absolute silence on this point was probably, therefore, not caused by Weber's partial inaccuracy, but by the reference the latter gives when naming these terms,—the reference to Dr. Boehtlingk's "Comment" on the Sūtra I. 3, 11. For it must be readily admitted that the gloss of this writer is quite enough to raise the strongest apprehensions as to the sanity of Pāṇini, provided that it does not induce the reader to arrive at a peculiar view of the

⁴ For the same reasons I do not avail myself of the word *वर्णित* "above," though it occurs in the same sense, "after," e.g., in Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya, I. 33. (The word *वर्णित* is used in the sense "before," e.g., in Uvāṇa's com. on this Prātiśākhya, I. 85; *वर्णित*, in the sense "after," e.g., in the introduction of the Jaiminiya-nyāya-māhā-vistara).

fitness of Pāṇini's "editor" himself to compose a comment on this great grammarian.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ I subjoin a literal copy of this gloss, which but poorly illustrates the character of the second volume of Dr. Boehdligk's "edition" of Pāṇini. It runs thus:—"Wo der Circumflex gestanden hat, will ich nicht entscheiden; wenn zu *Pāṇini's Zeiten* die Accente in der gewöhnlichen Schrift nicht gebraucht wurden, konnte der Circumflex über einen beliebigen Buchstaben des *adhikāra* gesetzt werden, ohne Verwirrung hervorzubringen. Die Handschriften unseres Grammatikers, die ich verglichen habe, sind alle aus der neuesten Zeit und bezeichnen diesen Accent ebenso wenig wie die nasalen Vocale im *spadeya*. Wenn ich 2 *vārtikas* zu unserer Regel recht verstehe, so wurde bei einem *adhikāra* ein Buchstabe angefügt (der vielleicht der Träger des Circumflex war) und zwar so oft als der *adhikāra* in der Folge ergänzt werden musste; konnte er nicht so weit ergänzt werden, dann musste man ihn die fehlenden Male bei den vorhergehenden (?) Regeln ergänzen. Hier die beiden *vārtika's* selbst: यावत्तिष्ठो ऽनुवृत्तये तावतो योवावधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति वक्तव्यं ॥ १ ॥ मूयसि प्रागभुत इति वक्तव्यं ॥ २ ॥" Translation: "Where the circumflex [*sic.*, this rendering of *swarita*] shows that the writer has no idea of the nature of this accent] was placed, I will not decide (*sic.*); if, at the time of Pāṇini, accents were not used in common writing, the circumflex could be put over any letter of an *adhikāra* without causing confusion. The MSS. of our grammarian which I have compared (*sic.*) are all of the most recent date, and mark this accent as little

I must, therefore, while rejecting Weber's reference, defend first his quotation of the Sūtra with the assistance of Kātyā-

as the nasal vowels in the *spadeya*. If I understand rightly two *Vārtikas* to our rule, a letter (which, perhaps, was the bearer of the circumflex) was added to an *adhikāra*: that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel; if it could not be supplied so often, one had to supply it when wanted, at the preceding (?) [this query belongs to Dr. B.] rules. Here are the two *Vārtikas* themselves: [then follow the Sanskrit words as given above].—The latter words ("if it could not," etc.) are beyond my comprehension; for, what reasons could prevent an *adhikāra* from being supplied, and if there was such an obstructed *adhikāra*, how could it be supplied at a preceding rule? I doubt, however, whether this sentence, which is intended to represent the meaning of the second *Vārtika* as quoted above, was understood by its own author. But the very words of this "*Vārtika*" revenge themselves on the person who has ill-used them so much: they betray the character of the work which has commented on them. For, however intelligible they are in themselves, it must be observed that the Calcutta Paññits have made a mistake in the wording of this *Vārtika*. Dr. Boehdligk, therefore, in giving himself the appearance of having quoted a rule laboriously examined in an original work, is simply detected in reprinting, without any examination whatever, the error of the Calcutta editors. And this, I may add, is generally the case in his "comment." The fact, in short, is this:—the Kāśikā and Siddhānta have no *Vārtikas* on this Sūtra, and in the Mahābhāṣya the words given belong to two dis-

yana and Patanjali. Pāṇini says (I. 3, 11): "An *adhikāra*, or heading rule (will be recognized in my Grammar) by the accent

tinct passages, which have been erroneously contracted by the Paṇḍits into one; viz., to a passage of a Vārtika, *युयसि प्राञ्चवस्*, and to a passage from the commentary of Patanjali: *युयसि प्राञ्चवस् कर्तव्यम् । प्राञ्चुत इति वक्तव्यम्* ("Kātyāyana ought to have said—instead of *प्राञ्च*, *प्राञ्चु* with a word following in the ablative"). The second of these passages is therefore merely a correction, by Patanjali, of the vague expression of Kātyāyana, and the *इति वक्तव्यम्* which conveys the correction, becomes purposeless, or assumes a different bearing, in the version of the Calcutta edition. And I may add, that the Paṇḍits have erred, too, in publishing what is their first Vārtika, for they mistook the comment of, and a quotation made by, Patanjali, for the text of a Vārtika. The reprint has been, of course, as conscientious in the latter case as in the former. Compare for both Vārtikas the following note with its translation. But to shew in its proper light the astounding explanation of Dr. Boehdliŋk on this second Vārtika, I shall illustrate his ingenuity by taking some instances of the Kāśikā, as quoted in its comment on this Sūtra, and apply to them his comment on the first Vārtika. According to the Kāśikā, the Sūtras VI. 4, 129; III. 1, 91; VI. 4, 1; IV. 1, 1; III. 1, 1, are among those marked with a *swarita*, to indicate that they are *adhikāras*; the first of these *adhikāras* extends over 47, the second over 541, the third over 613, the fourth over 1190, and the fifth over 1821 Sūtras. If we credit, therefore, the explanation of Dr. Boehdliŋk, a letter of the alphabet (he does not say which; probably, therefore, any

swarita." Upon this Patanjali remarks: "Why does he say that?"—*Vārtika*: "An *adhikāra* to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation."—*Patanjali*: "An *adhikāra* (says Kātyāyana) is made (so as to

one) was added, perhaps, as he says in the parenthesis, as the bearer of this *swarita*, "that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel." In other words, in the five instances quoted such a letter was added to the Sūtra VI. 4, 129, 47 times, and so on to the other Sūtras severally 541, 613, 1190, and 1821 times! And this method, he conceives, had been devised in a kind of literature, where shortness is the chief object, and where "an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Surely, it requires neither knowledge nor scholarship, but merely something else, to deter a rational writer from eliciting such a sense from a sane book.

° Pāṇini I. 3, 11: *स्वरितमधिकारः*—Patanjali: *किमर्थमिदमुच्यते*—*Vārtika* omitted in the Calc. ed. at this Sūtra, but mentioned VI. 1, 138, where it occurs as a quotation) *अधिकारः* प्रतियोगं तस्मान्निर्देशार्थः—Patanjali: *अधिकारः* क्रियते प्रतियोगं तस्मान्निर्देशार्थ इति । किमिदं प्रतियोगमिति । योगं योगं प्रति प्रतियोगं योगे योगे तस्य ग्रहणं माकार्थमिति—Kātyāyana: *स्वरितेतितीत्यन्तवचस्ये* तृतीया । *स्वर्तिनाधिकारो* वच्यते इत्यर्थः । *स्वरितत्वं* सूत्राणां केवलमधिकारमागार्थं प्रतिपादयति न तु

apply) to every rule belonging to it; its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation.' What does that mean, 'to every rule belonging to it?' 'To every rule belonging to it,' means in reference to each such rule; and he wants to imply that I must not make special mention (of the adhikāra) in each such rule."—*Kaīyaṭa*: "The words, 'by the accent swarita' [in Sanskrit it is only one word], are the third case in the sense of 'such and such a mark' (as ruled by Pāṇini, II. 3, 21); i.e. an adhikāra is marked with the accent swarita. The plan to mark words which are in the *Sūtra* with the swarita, is merely devised in order that the adhikāra may become recognizable, but it has nothing to do with practical application [i.e. the swarita is not pronounced].

प्रयोगसमवादि । अधिकारबद्धो भावसाधनो वा । विनियोगो लोके अधिकार उच्यते स एवेह नुह्यते । किमर्थमिति । आकाङ्क्षादिवश्यात्मकतया संबन्धो लोके एव भविष्यतीति प्रश्नः—..... Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)
अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु—Patanjali: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु भवति । न चाप्येत विद्यमानवधिमधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति.—Vārtika (omitted in the Calc. ed.)

The word adhikāra either expresses a condition or it expresses an act; in common language, adhikāra is the same as *vinijoga*, or appointment to an office; and *this* is understood here. Patanjali asks: 'Why does Pāṇini say that?' This question means: Will there be (in his grammar) as in common language, a connection of the matter treated under the same head, because the subjects refer necessarily to one another, and the like?" [Then follows in the Bhāṣya a discussion of Patanjali, the purport of which is to show that the word *adhikāra*, which literally means *superintendence*, *government*, has, in grammar, an analogous sense to that which it has in common life].—*Vārtika*: "But (there is) no knowing how far an adhikāra goes."—*Patanjali* (repeats these words in the manner we

अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानार्थं तु—Patanjali: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानार्थमेव तद्वयं यो नो वक्तव्यः । अधिकारपरिमाणां ज्ञासातीति । कथं पुनः स्मरितेनाधिकार इत्यनेनाधिकारपरिमाणां श्रुतं विज्ञातुम् । एवं वक्ष्यामि स्मरितेनाधिकार इति—*Kaīyaṭa*: अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं त्विति । यथा धातोरेति किं प्राप्तादिशेषः । अथाध्यापरिस्वरातिः । अङ्गाधिकारः प्रात्यक्ष्याधिकारिभ्यः । यथा सप्तमपरिस्वरातिरिति—

have seen before, adding the ellipsis 'there is,' as he usually repeats the words of a Várttika which he explains, in order to ensure its proper text, and then continues): "These words mean: It might not be known to what limit an adhikára is applicable." — *Várttika*: "However, that the extent of an adhikára might be known." — *Patanjali*: "Just that the extent of an adhikára might be known, on that account this rule (I. 3, 11) had to be uttered; in other words, that I may know how far an adhikára goes. But again, how can the extent of an adhikára be known through the Sûtra, which says 'an adhikára (will be recognized in my grammar by the accent swarita,' so that I could say: 'the adhikára (is recognized) by the accent swarita?'" — *Kaiyaṣa*: "But, there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes," says the Várttika; for instance,

Patanjali: स्वरितं वृद्धाधिकारो न भवतीति द्वेदानीमधिकारो भविष्यति ।
 लोकोक्तो अधिकारः । अधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । चत्वारिंशद्वयं
 निवर्तकस्याप्यभिधीयते । अधिकारार्थमेव तद्व्ययं योनी यत्नः — *Kaiyaṣa*:
 स्वरितं इहेति । प्रकृतकाधिकारनिवृत्तये शब्दान्तरस्य स्वरितत्वं प्रतीकावयते ।

does adhikára III. 1, 91, stop before the Sûtra III. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the (third) book? Does the adhikára VI. 4, 1, stop before the Sûtra VI. 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the seventh book? — *Patanjali*: "Since, as soon as (another) swarita is *seen*, there is an end of the adhikára (indicated by the previous swarita); by what means, then, can there be now an adhikára? Adhikára is (as we have seen) a term of common life. Now, if you say there is no such adhikára (meant in this grammar), why was it said before [in a previous discussion], 'that a new injunction stopping (the applicability of the adhikára), a paribhāshā (had to be given).' Therefore on account of an adhikára this rule had to be uttered." — *Kaiyaṣa*: "(When Patanjali says), 'As soon as (another) swarita

तेन चिन्तित्वाच्च ह्यस्य स्वरितत्वदर्शनात् । द्विनिवृत्तिर्द्वयस्य निवृत्तिरनुमीयते
 — *Patanjali*: ननु योक्तम् । अधिकारपरिभाषाज्ञानं सिति । — *Várttika*: याव-
 त्तिषो ऽबुद्वयत्वावतो योनातिनि वचनात्तिष्ठम् — *Patanjali*: यावत्तिषो ऽबु-
 द्यते तावतो योनामधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते इति यत्नः — *Kaiyaṣa*: यावत्तिष इति ।

is seen,' etc., (his words mean): to stop the (applicability of an) adhikára on a subject-matter, the plan is devised to mark another word with the swarita; thus, because the swarita mark is seen in the Sûtra V. 1, 32, it must be inferred that the applicability of the adhikára, V. 1, 30 (which also was marked with the swarita) has ceased."—*Patanjali*: "Now, has not Kátáyana said, 'But there is no knowing how far an adhikára goes?' " (Quite so; hence the) *Vártika* (continues): "This results from what is said elsewhere: '*whatever the numerical value of the letter which is joined (to an adhikára-rule)*, to as many rules'" —*Patanjali*: "These words would have been better quoted thus: 'With whatever numerical value a letter is joined (as anu-bandha to an adhikára-rule), to as many (following) rules the

adhikára applies.'"—*Kaivyāṭa*: "For instance: to the Sûtra V. 1, 30, the mute letter *i* (the *second* in the *Sivasûtras*) is to be joined; therefore it applies to *two* subsequent rules; and similarly in other adhikára rules."—*Patanjali*: "Now, what is to be done when an adhikára applies to more rules, while there are fewer letters of the alphabet?"—*Kaivyāṭa*: "(When Patanjali says) 'Fewer (and more),' is this comparative (literally, is the affix of the higher degree, *i.e.* the affix of the comparative), used in reference to different species (of the same class)? (No;) it is used in an absolute sense. (For he means): If you think the rules belonging to the same adhikára are *few*, then (you would have to take his words as implying that) the letters of the alphabet may be (still) *fewer*; on the other hand, if

तत्वात्पीचांशो ऽन्वः । तथा नहवो ऽन्व इति चेत्तूचांशो योवाः—*Vártika*: भूयसि प्राग्वच्यम् — *Patanjali*: भूयसि प्राग्वच्यं कर्तव्यम् । प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । संदेहमात्रमेतन्नवति । सर्ववदेहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठे व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादवश्यमिति—*Kaivyāṭa*: भूयसीति । अङ्गस्य

द्विचिपूर्वमिच्छादिबन्धकारो ऽनुवच्यः कर्तव्यः । तेन ह्यचोयोनचोरनुवृत्तिर्भवति । एवमन्वचापि चेदित्यन्व—*Patanjali*: अवेदानो यत्वात्पीचांशो ऽन्वः भूयस्य योवानधिकारो ऽनुवर्तते कथं तत्र कर्तव्यम् —*Kaivyāṭa*: अत्पीचास्य इति । कथं पुनर्मित्रवातीयाविषया प्रकर्षप्रत्ययः । परमतापिषया । अन्वो योवा इति चेन्नन्वसे

you think the letters are *many*, then (his words would imply that) there may be still *more* rules belonging to the same *adhiakára*.”—*Várttika*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhiakára* than letters), the expression *prák*, ‘before,’”—*Patanjali*: “If there are more (rules for the same *adhiakára* than letters), *Pánini* (says the *Várttika*) ought always to have made use of the expression *prák*, ‘before;’ or the *Várttika* ought to have rather said ‘*before*, *with a word following in the ablative*.’” [The *Várttika* means that the *adhiakára* then should have been always indicated in the *Sútra* by the expression that such and such an *adhiakára* is valid “before,” i.e. goes no further than, such and such a rule or word; as is the case, e.g. I. 4, 56; II. 1, 3; IV. 4, 1 and 75; V. 1, 1 and 18; 3, 1 and 70, etc.] Ought *Pánini* indeed (in such a

case) to have expressed himself thus? No, he ought not. This is a more question of a doubtful case, and in all such cases there avails the *Paribhāshā* which says that ‘the solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation,’³⁰ for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion (to solve it).’—*Kaīyaśā*: “The foregoing words, ‘if there are more, etc.’ mean that *Pánini* (instead of giving, e.g. his rule, VI. 4, 1, as he does in the word *angasya*, i.e. ‘this is the *adhiakára* on base’), ought to have said, ‘*angasya prág dech*,’ i.e. ‘this is the *adhiakára* on base which avails before (i.e. does not go further than) VIII. 1, 1 (exclusively).’ The words of *Patanjali*, ‘ought *Pánini*, indeed, etc.’ mean: ought *Pánini* to have given the contents of the two preceding *Várttikas*?”

स्वरित्येव । स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्भविषतीति स्वरित्यतिव्यं प्रकृत्य ये विहितकियं यद्यं विज्ञास्यते तत्र स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति etc.

³⁰ “वाक्यानामः.” The word *वाक्यानाम* “explanation” is defined in the Introduction of *Patanjali*: उदाहरणं प्रमुदाहरणं वाक्यानाम स्वरित्यनुदितं वाक्याम भवति: “explanation is giving an instance, giving a counter-instance, and supplying the elliptical expression of a sentence: all these three together.”

प्रागेरित्यादि यत्तत्त्वम् । तत्तर्हीति । चावतिचो ऽविति मूषवि प्रावचनं चेत्तर्हः —*Patanjali*: किं प्रबोधयन्—*Várttika* (omitted in the Calc. ed.) स्वरित्याधिकारमतिर्वेदा विज्ञायेत—*Patanjali*: अधिकारमतिः । अधिकः कारः । अधिकं कार्यम् । नोद्विचोचयसर्वमस्तेष्वन्य मोदाङ्गहणं चोदितं न कर्तव्यं भवति । स्त्रीयहणं

Then follows, in the Bhāshya, an observation of *Patanjali* on a doubtful passage, which is the subject of his comment in its appropriate place. He continues: "What is the purpose of the Sūtra?"—*Vārttika*: "That the proper way of applying an adhikāra might be known by means of the swarita."—*Patanjali*: "Proper way of applying an adhikāra." (Just so). (*Adhi-kāra* means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over. Now, at the Sūtra I. 2, 48, the expression *goḷāṅg* (used in the *Vārttika* to this rule) must not be considered as the subject of the adhikāra; for the expression *strī* will have the swarita. Therefore, according to the words of the *Vārttika* ('that the proper way,' etc.) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra (I. 2, 48) which fall under the head *strī*, and, according to the *Vārttika*'s own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I. 2, 48." [To understand this latter illustration of our rule, it is necessary to know that *Kātyāyana*, in giving the *Vārttika goḷāṅgrahanaṁ kṛmivṛiti-tyarthaṁ*, to the Sūtra I. 2, 48, intends to point out an omission in the rule of *Pāṇini*. *Patanjali*, however, shows that the swarita

over *strī* in this rule obviates the punctiliousness of the *Vārttika*, and he therefore taunts *Kātyāyana*, as well on this occasion as when he comments on I. 2, 48, for not having understood 'the proper way of applying the adhikāra,' by repeating to him his own criticisms on the Sūtra of the present discussion. Then follow other illustrations of *Patanjali* as to the proper way of applying an adhikāra, which it is not necessary for our immediate purpose to add to the foregoing translation]. x

The passage I have given here from the "Great Commentary" on *Pāṇini*,—and which may serve too as a specimen of the manner in which the two grammatical saints, *Kātyāyana* and *Patanjali*, scrutinized every doubtful word of the Sūtras,—will have shown that the rule of *Pāṇini*, which teaches the manner of defining an *adhikāra*, or heading rule, is interpreted by them as being based on the application of writing to his terminology. There are three modes, as we learn from them (and the fact is, of course, fully borne out by the Sūtras themselves), by which *Pāṇini* indicates a heading-rule in his Grammar. The one consists in his using the word *prāk*,

"before," with a word following in the ablative, by which expression he implies that the heading continues up to that word, which will occur in a later Sūtra. Another mode of his is merely to indicate the heading, the extent of which is then, as the Bhāṣya says, matter of "explanation." His third and last mode consists in putting the sign of a swarita,—*which was not intended for pronunciation*,—not over any word of the Sūtra, arbitrarily, as Dr. Boehtlingk imagines, but, as common sense would suggest, over that word which is the heading, as over the word *strī*, in the Sūtra I. 2, 48. Kātyāyana, moreover, indicates (by the expression *bhūyasī*), and Patanjali expressly states, that in those cases in which the number of Sūtras comprised under an adhikāra did not exceed the number of the letters of the alphabet, a letter representing a numerical value (without, of course, being "the bearer of a swarita"), was added to indicate the extent of the adhikāra; and from the example given by Kaiyaṭa we must infer that the numerical value of the letter was determined by the position it has in the Sivasūtras, since *i* is to him an equivalent of the

figure 2. And this representation of figures by letters of the alphabet derives an additional interest from the circumstance that it is quite different from the method we meet with at a later period of Hindu progress in mathematics and astronomy.⁵¹ In short, we see that Patanjali and Kātyāyana not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pāṇini, but consider the use he has made of writing as one of the *chief means by which he has built up the technical structure of his work*.

I will obviate, at once, an objection which may be raised,—though it could scarcely be raised by those who treat Kātyāyana as a contemporary of Pāṇini, or use the Commentaries as direct evidence for or against Pāṇini,—I mean the objection that the comments of Kātyāyana and Patanjali would only testify to their own knowledge and use of written accents; but that neither necessitate the conclusion that Pāṇini knew and employed, as they suppose him

⁵¹ Compare the system of Āryabhaṭṭa, who uses vowels and nasals = 0; *ka*, *ṣa*, *pa*, *ja* = 1; *kha*, *ṭha*, *pha*, *ya* = 2; *ga*, *ḍa*, *ba*, *la* = 3, etc. See Lassen's Zeitschrift, II. 423 ff., "Journal Asiatique" (1835), vol. XVI., p. 116, etc.

to have done, written accents, nor that he was acquainted with the use of written letters for the purpose of denoting numerical values. And should there be any who attach more faith to Kaiyyāṭa, the late commentator on Patañjali, than to Patañjali himself and Kātyāyana, they might, perhaps, adduce an observation of this grammarian, "that the Sūtras of Pāṇini were read in one breath, (without any regard to accent)," in order to infer that the swarita might have been *sounded* over the word which it intended to mark as adhikāra.²² Such a conclusion, however, would be invalid, not only by the natural sense of the passage quoted, but by the remark of the same grammarian, which is contained in the translation I have given before, and which states that the swarita was not intended, in our present case, for "practical application." It remains, therefore, to be seen whether this remark of Kaiyyāṭa is confirmed by analogous facts in Pāṇini's Grammar.

²² Kaiyyāṭa towards the end of the Introduction: एकमुखा सूत्राणि पाठात्स्वेवायं दासदीनामुपदेशः.—Another discussion on *adhikāra* occurs incidentally in Patañjali's comment on I. 1, 49.

Pāṇini frequently refers, in his Sūtras, not only to grammarians who have preceded him, but to lists of affixes, and to arrangements of the verbal roots, which must have coincided with his own terminology. The personal relation of Pāṇini to these collections or books will be the subject of future remark; it will suffice, at present, to show that Pāṇini's work, and these works, were based on the same grammatical system. Pāṇini refers, for instance, to a list of affixes which begin with *un*,²³ where the mute letter *n*—which has exactly the same technical value in the affix *un* as it would have in

²³ उक्तादि; compare Pāṇini, III. 3, 1; 4, 75.—This word is sometimes written उक्तादि; but wrongly, for the Saandhi rules apply not only to real words, but equally to the technical language of the Sūtras. Since उक्ता, in उक्तादि, is a pada (*pūrvapada*), it has to follow the Saandhi rule given, VIII. 3, 32. Real padas ending in *त्*, it is true, are rare, and perhaps still rarer as first parts of a compound; but a word *उक्तात्* becomes on that very ground the subject of an exceptional rule; its first part is said to be not पठ् but अ (I. 4, 18, v. 3). As the phonetic rules of the grammarians bespeak the necessities and predilections of the Hindu organ of speech, technical names could not but follow the general rules of pronunciation, and there is no cause, therefore, to establish an exception for the term उक्तादि.

Pāṇini's affixes *an*, *na*, or in other terms containing this *anubandha* —proves that these affixes rested on the terminology which governs the Sūtras of Pāṇini. He speaks of *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, *tulādi*,—in short, of the ten classes of radicals, just as they are given in the Dhātupāṭha, and even of subdivisions of this work, *e.g.*, *dṛyutādi*, *vushādi*, *bhūdādi*, *muchādi*, *yajādi*, *radhādi*, etc.;³⁴ and if there existed a doubt that the expressions quoted, which contain the first word of a list, necessarily imply the whole list, and in the order in which the words of such a list appear in this work,³⁵ the doubter

³⁴ Compare *e.g.* Pāṇini I. 3, 1; II. 4, 72 and 75; III. 1, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 25; III. 1, 56; 3, 104; VII. 1, 59; VI. 1, 15; VII. 2, 45, and other instances which are quoted in the excellent *Radices Linguae Sanscritae* of Westergaard.

³⁵ It is barely possible, however, to admit such a doubt; for Pāṇini does not restrict himself to generally mentioning radicals by giving the first word of the order, such as *bhūtādi*, *udādi*, etc.; he refers, also, to distinct numbers. Thus, VII. 2, 59, he speaks of the four radicals beginning with *ṛ*, and the rule he gives applies to no other four radicals than *ṛ* and the three radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 18, 19—22); he speaks, VII. 2, 75, of the free radicals beginning with *ṣ*, and his rule avails only for *ṣ* and the four radicals which follow it in the Dhātup. (§ 28, 116—120); or, VII.

would have at least to admit that the *anubandhas* or technical letters which accompany each radical in the Dhātupāṭha, possess the grammatical value which is expressly defined as inhering in them by special rules of Pāṇini.³⁶ He refers to the Upadeśa, which is, according to Patanjali, a list, not only of the radicals, but of nominal bases, affixes, particles, increases of the base and grammatical substitutes, all of which are “settled,” as Kātyāyana says.³⁷

Now, if we consult the Sūtras which treat of the verbal roots, we find, for instance, that, as a rule, a root is *vaāttu* on the last

3, 98, of the five radicals beginning with *ṣ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 59—63); or, VI. 1, 6, of the six radicals beginning with *ṣ* (= Dhātup. § 24, 63—69); or, VI. 4, 125, of the seven radicals beginning with *ṣ* (Dhātup. § 19, 73—79), etc. In all these instances, therefore, the order of the radicals in the Dhātupāṭha, as referred to by Pāṇini, is the absolute condition of his rule.

³⁶ Compare the quotations in Westergaard's *Radices*, p. 342, 343.

³⁷ Compare Pāṇini I. 3, 2; VI. 1, 45, 186; 4, 37; VIII. 4, 14, 18; (the term occurs frequently, too, in the Vārtikas and Kārikas.) and see note 39.

syllable (VI. 1, 162). Yet (VII. 2, 10) Pánini states that a radical has not the connecting vowel *i*; if in the Upadeśa it is a *monosyllable* and *anudátta*. As the former rule concerns a radical, which is part of, and embodied in, a real word, while the latter describes the theoretical existence of the radical in the Dhátupáṭha, we may imagine, it is true, that for the purpose of grammatical teaching a pronunciation of the radical was devised in the Upadeśa different to that which it has in real language. But, even on the supposition that a radical could be pronounced *anudátta*, is it probable that Pánini or the authors of the Dhátupáṭha could have recourse to so clumsy a method for conveying the rule implied by the term *anudátta*? Would they, gratuitously, have created the confusion that must necessarily arise from a twofold pronunciation of the same radical, when any other technical *anubandha* would have enabled them to attain the same end? Let us suppose, on the contrary, that *anudátta*, in the Upadeśa, does not mean the spoken, but the *written* accent, and the difficulty is solved without

the necessity of impugning the ability or the common sense of the grammarians.

This inference is strengthened, moreover, by another analogous fact, which may be recalled before I give further proof from a synopsis of Pánini's rules and the appearance of the radicals in the Upadeśa. This fact is contained in the last Sūtra of Pánini's grammar, where he teaches that the short vowel *a*, which in his rules is treated as *virīṭa*, or pronounced with the expansion of the throat, is, in reality, *samerīṭa*, or pronounced with the contraction of the throat. This Sūtra did certainly not intend to impose upon the pupil the task of pronouncing, during his grammar lessons, the short vowel *a* in such a manner as no Hindu can pronounce it, or of sounding, when learning the properties of this vowel, instead of it, some nondescript deputy vowel-sound: it can only mean that, for the sake of technical purposes defined by the commentators, Pánini made a fiction in his grammar, which, of course, he had to remove when terminating his book. This fiction, however, being based on

a *phonetic impossibility*, would be a very awkward one if it applied to oral teaching only; it becomes quite unobjectionable if it is supported by a *written* text.⁵⁸

If a radical in the Upadeśa, says Pāṇini (I. 3, 12) has the *anudātta* (or *ṅg*) as anubandha, it is, in general, inflected in the

⁵⁸ I call it a *phonetic impossibility*, since अ, if it were pronounced विवृत, would assume the properties of अ; but as Pāṇini does not allow such an अ to occupy the same portion of time which is required for the pronunciation of अ, a *short* अ pronounced with the expansion of the throat, becomes, to a Hindu organ of speech and from Pāṇini's point of view, impossible. For this reason, Patanjali, too, who on a previous occasion had defined the letters which occur in the Upadeśa, i.e., the *spadishīṭa-occuras*, as *pronounced* or *pronounceable* letters [see note 40], looks upon this last Sūtra of Pāṇini as merely given to counteract the effect of the Upadeśa; he thus implies that this is the only case in which an *spadishīṭa-occuras* was not pronounceable: अ (VIII. 4, 68) ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते । अकारोऽन्मपरसमावायि विवृत उपदिष्टस्य संयुतता-प्रज्ञापयति: किञ्चिन् । —Kaiyaṇa: किमर्थमिति । अकारस्याकारवचने प्रयोजनमाभावात्तद्वत् । अकारोऽव्यनिति । अन्मपरार्थमिह शाले विवृतदीपयुक्तोऽकार उपदिष्टः । तस्य प्रयोजने संयुतकीर्तनाकारार्थमिदं प्रज्ञापयितव्यम् । अन्मपरसमावायवचनं सकस्यप्रज्ञापयितव्यम् ।

ātmunepada; if its anubandha is the *svārīta* (or *ṇ*) it is, under certain conditions, inflected in the *ātmunepada*; under others, in the *paramnipada* (I. 3, 72); if it has neither of these *anubandhas* (nor is subject to any of the rules I. 3, 12—77), it is inflected in the *paramnipada* only (I. 3, 78). Again, from the Dhātupāṭha we learn that, for instance, the radicals *jyā, rī, lī, vri, bhrī, kshī(śh), jñā*, are *anudātta* (i.e., do not assume the connecting vowel *i*), but have neither the *anudātta* nor the *svārīta* as *anubandha*.⁵⁹ The latter term implies that the sign which bears this denomination is added *after* the significant element. Since, however, the roots named are monosyllables in the *Upadeśa*, and since it is impossible to pronounce an accent without a vowel-sound supporting it, the assumption that the *anudātta* and other accent-*anubandhas* were spoken sounds, would lead to the conclusion that the same verbal root was simultaneously *anudātta* and *not anudātta*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Westergaard's Radices, § 31, 29—36.

⁶⁰ Other instances may be gathered from Westergaard's Radices. I must exclude, however, some which are not countenanced by the best MSS. I have consulted; those,

If I had adhered to the terminology of the Dhātupāṭha, as it is met with in the best MSS. of Mādhava's commentary, the foregoing illustration would have become still more striking; for, according to them, the roots *ṣṛá, rí, etc.*, are *anudátta*, and have the

especially, which are met with in the Radices under the term *स्वरित*. For when we read in the latter work (e.g. § 22 and § 31, 1, etc.) that *मुञ्, हञ्, घृञ्, etc.*, *उञ्जीञ्, प्रीञ्, क्रीञ्, etc.*, are *चतुर्दासाः* and *स्वरितः*; or (§ 31, 10, etc.) that *हृञ्, कृञ्, पूञ्, etc.* are *उदासाः* and *स्वरितः*, I could not adduce these and similar instances in support of my conclusions; since Mādhava is certainly right in giving, instead of the term *स्वरित*, the word *उभयपद्विः* or *उभयतोऽभावाः*, as the *anubandha* *ञ्* would become meaningless, if these roots had, besides, the *anubandha* *स्वरित*. The term *स्वरित* is correctly indicated by Westergaard and the MSS., for instance, of the roots *तिङ्, कृञ्, etc.* (§ 21); *बिबिर्, विबिर्, पिबिर्* (§ 25); *मुञ्, रमुञिर्, बह, रञ्, etc.* (§ 26); *गृह्, मुह, etc.* (§ 28); *चिर्, निदिर्, etc.* (§ 29), etc., for all these radicals have not the *anubandha* *ञ्*. A proof of the accuracy of the commentators in this respect, is afforded by the instance of the root *चञ्* (§ 24, 7) which is described in the Dhātupāṭha as *चतुर्दासित्*, and represented at the same time as *चञिर्*, for they explain on this occasion that the *anubandha* *ञ्* does not indicate the *āmanepada*-inflection, marked by the term *चतुर्दासित्*, but refers to the effect of the Sūtra III. 2, 149.

udátta as their *anubandha*. In general, it may be observed, that the Sūtra I. 3, 78 is apparently understood by Mādhava and other commentators as referring to roots which have *udátta* as *anubandha*: for a root which is neither *anudátteit* nor *swaríteit*, is described by them as *udátteit*. There is some reason, however, to doubt whether the latter term really occurred in the Upadēsa referred to by Pāṇini; and as the solution of this doubt, in an affirmative sense, would add another fact to those already obtained, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here.

The misgiving I entertain is based on Pāṇini's own terminology. He speaks of roots which, in the Upadēsa, are *udátta* (VII. 3, 34) and *anudátta* (VI. 4, 37; VII. 2, 10), which are *anudátteit* and *swaríteit* (see the preceding quotations, p. 45); but there is no trace in his grammar of radicals which are *udátteit*. And this omission is the more striking, as the number of roots which are marked *udátteit* in the present MSS. of the Dhātupāṭha is considerable. Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the negative tenor of the Sūtra I. 3, 78, since there is no other instance in Pāṇini's

work of a technical and important term being given vaguely and inferentially.

If, however, we apply to the present case the conclusions we have been already compelled to draw as to Pāṇini's having used accents as written signs, we may surmise the reason why *udāttet* is not amongst the terms employed by this grammarian. Of the three accents, *udātta*, *swarita*, and *anudātta*, the two latter only are marked in the principal Vaidik writings, the *swarita* being indicated by a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudātta* by a horizontal line under it. The syllable not marked is *udātta*. It is possible, therefore, to say that a radical or syllable which is not marked is *udātta*, and that one with a horizontal stroke under it is *anudātta*; it is possible, too, to speak of a line *added* under or over the last letter of the radical; but it is surely impossible to call that 'addition' (*anubandha*) which, not being visible, could not be added at all. This explanation of the absence of the term *udāttet* is founded, of course, on the supposition that the system of marking the accents was the same at Pāṇini's time, as it occurs in our MSS.

of the principal Veda-Sanhitās; but it can hardly be doubted that this system is as deeply rooted in Hindu tradition as everything else connected with the preservation of the sacred books. If, then, it becomes certain that Pāṇini knew written accent signs, which were not pronounced, it will not be hazardous to put faith in the statement of Kaiyaṇa, that the *swarita*, which was intended as a mark of an *adhiḥkāra*, was also a written sign, a perpendicular stroke, "but had nothing to do with practical application."

That Pāṇini, as Patanjali tells us, and Kātyāyana gives us to understand, used letters in his *adhiḥkāra* rules for the notation of numeral values, does not follow, we must admit, from his own words in the quoted Sūtra (I. 3, 11), but there is a rule of his (VI. 3, 115) in which he informs us that the owners of cattle were, at his time, in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable. Such signs, he says, were, for instance; a swastika, a ladle, a pearl, etc.; yet he mentions besides, *eight* and *five*. Now, either the graziers used letters of the alphabet to denote these numerals, or they employed special figures

as we do. In either case it is obvious that they must have been acquainted with writing; in the latter, moreover, that the age to which they belonged had already overcome the primitive mode of denoting numerals by letters, and that writing must have been, therefore, already a matter of the commonest kind. At all events, and whichever alternative be taken—if even the Hindu cattle paraded the acquaintance of the Hindus with the art of writing and of marking numerals,—one may surely believe that Pāṇini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time, and that, like them, he resorted to the marking of numerals whenever it was convenient to him to do so.

The absence of a letter or grammatical element, or even of a word, the presence of which would have been required by a previous rule, is called by Pāṇini *lopa*. The literal sense of this word, which is derived from *lup*, “to cut off,” is “cutting off.” It will be conceded that it is not possible to “cut off” any but a visible sign, and that a metaphorical expression of this kind could not have arisen, unless the reality existed. Indeed, the very definition

which Pāṇini gives of this term must remove every doubt, if there existed any. He says: “*lopa* (‘cutting off’) is the not being seen” (*acil*, of a letter, etc.)^a For, whatever scope may be given to the figurative meaning of the radical “to see,” it is plainly impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight. A letter or word, which is no more *seen*, or has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him. And the same remark applies to an expression which occurs several times in the Sūtras; for Pāṇini speaks more than once of affixes which are *seen*, or of a vowel which is *seen* in words.^b

^a I. 1, 60: चदर्शनं लोपः.

^b चन्विजो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 178; 3, 130.—चन्विजो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 75.—चन्विजो ऽपि दृश्यते VI. 3, 137.—चन्विजो ऽपि दृश्यते III. 2, 101.—एतन्विजो ऽपि दृश्यते V. 3, 14.

—Though in the foregoing observations no conclusion of mine is founded on statements of the later grammarians alone, it may not be without some interest to mention now that these grammarians do not seem to have conceived as much as the idea of Pāṇini’s

If it becomes evident from the foregoing arguments that Pāṇini not only *wrote*, but that *writing* was a main element in the *technical* arrangement of his rules, it may not be superfluous to ask, whether the sacred texts had been committed to writing at the time at

grammar ever having existed except in writing. For Kaiyaṣa, amongst others, refers to a written text of this grammar, even when there is no necessity whatever of making allusion to such a circumstance. We must infer, therefore, that it was a matter of course to him to look upon Pāṇini's rules as having been at all times written rules. Thus, in commenting on the vowel अ of the *pratyāhara* अच् , and in advertising to its last letter, he might have simply spoken of a letter अ , but he speaks of a *letter-sign* अः . “ $\text{अच् हि अकारेण निष्ठेय प्रत्याहारको विवृतो निदिष्टः}$ etc.”—And when Professor Müller, as we shall presently see, avails himself of so late an authority as the *Māhātmya-Vārttikas* of *Kaśmirīlas* to prove or to make plausible facts concerning the highest antiquity, I will quote, as a counterpart, another late work which introduces to us the god Śiva himself as recommending the *writing* and wearing of grammatical texts as a means for the attainment of bonus and the prevention of evils. I need not add that I look upon neither work as a sufficient authority to settle the points of a mystical dialogue between Śiva and his disciple alluded to occurs in the chapter of a mystical dialogue between Śiva and his wife, called *Jñānāśaktiśaktiśāstra*, where Śiva, after having explained to Pārvatī the letters of the alphabet, concludes his instruction with the following words : एतान्

which he lived, or whether they were preserved then by memory only? That the mere fact of learning the Veda does not disprove the possibility of its having been preserved by written letters also, is clear enough, and is indirectly acknowledged by Müller himself.⁴

रखें देवि लिखिला मूर्खपणने । मोरोपभाकुनेन तथा प्रकलपयुवा । खडे या चरि
सा नाही मखे वा वरानने । सर्वबाधिविगुरुतो दिनावां पितखे भवेत । संतापोवें
पठेद्विद्याधारयिला समाहितः । खण्डनं कथते पुणं दब्बावां यम तुलकम् । रवे राख
कुने चीरे ऋषि व्याघ्रमवादिषे । खण्डादेव ब्रह्मणि विमलत्वलषवानि ति *i.e.*, "if a
man writes this grammatical explanation on a birch-leaf, with a mixture of the yellow
pigment Gorocharnā and saffron, or if he has it written by a scribe with the quill of a
porcupine on his neck or his arm or his head, he becomes after three days free from all
disease; and if a wise man, wishing for progeny, reads and retains it attentively, he is
sure to obtain a son, who will be like me, from his (previously) barren wife. If a battle
(rages), or the royal family spreads terror, or if a tiger causes alarm, or on similar
occasions, all danger vanishes in merely remembering (this grammatical explanation).
What further shall I tell thee?" etc.

⁸ History, etc., p. 246: "The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart; and even at the present day, when MSS. have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS."

History, etc., p. 246: "The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart; and even at the present day, when MSS. have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS."

He quotes, it is true, a passage from the Mahābhārata, and one from Kumārila's Vārttikas, which condemn, the one the writing of the Veda, and the other the learning it from a written text;^a but I hold that neither quotation proves anything against the practice of writing the Veda at or before Pāṇini's time. Both passages might, on the contrary, be alleged to confirm the fact that the offence of writing the Vedas had already been committed

^a p. 502: "In the Mahābhārata, we read: 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.' Kumārila says: 'that knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Śūdra.'—The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted by Müller, occurs in the *Anuśāsanap.* verse 1645. I doubt, however, whether his rendering of वेदाणि विच दूषकाः "those also who defile the Vedas," is quite correct. It seems to me that it means "those who corrupt the text of the Vedas," and that it is synonymous with the expression वेदविच्छेदकाः which occurs in the second act of the *Prabodha-chaudodaya* (ed. Brockhaus, p. 20, l. 14; ed. Calc. p. 12a, l. 5). The expression सत्यवाणी च दूषकाः which precedes by a few verses (*Anuśāsanap.* v. 1639) i.e., "those who vitiate agreements" is analogous. There is, unhappily, no comment of *Nīlakantha* on either of these passages.

when these verses were composed. They betray, it is true, as we should expect, the apprehension of their authors lest oral teaching might become superfluous, and the services of the Brāhmaṇa caste be altogether dispensed with; but they convey nothing else—not even the prohibition that the teacher or Guru himself might not have recourse to a written text of the Veda if he wanted to refresh his memory or to support his meditation. Nay, we may go further, and assert that by an authority certainly much older than both the authors of this passage of the Mahābhārata and the Mīmāṃsā-Vārttikas, all the first *three castes* were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidik texts. For, let us hear what the lawgiver Yājñavalkya says: "All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda: therefore, the first three classes—the twice-born—should see it, think on it, and hear it." But how could Yājñavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing?^a And that Pāṇini, too,

^a Yājñav. III. 191: स ह्याश्रमीर्विदिषाकः समक्षिरित्येव तु । इष्टवत्सल्य मन्वाकः ।

must have seen written Vaidik texts follows clearly, in my opinion, from two Sūtras, in which he says: "(the augment *ā*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule)," and (the *ādesa an*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz., in other cases of *astha*, *dādhi*, etc., than those mentioned previously).⁶⁷ It

श्रोतव्यं विवर्तिनिः. Vijnāśvarī, the modern commentator of Yājñavalkya, who, like Kumārila, is evidently not pleased with the recommendation of "seeing" the Veda, twists the construction of the latter passage into the following sense: "the twice-born should first hear (the expounding of) the Veda, then reflect on it and thus (by reflection) keep it present (to their mind)." In order to impart to the word "to see" the figurative sense, he reverses the entire, and, it would seem, natural order of the injunction, which recommends the twice-born first to look into the Veda, then to reflect on it, and ultimately to ask the teacher to give his own explanation of it; the latter becoming, of course, more effectual, if the pupil is already somewhat familiar with his subject.—This is the comment of the *Mīdākharā*: स्यान्नित्यतयाज्ञानमाद्यतो वेदस्यादात्मनः शब्देन सकारणमिर्णयप्रकारं विप्रसिद्धकर्मैव प्रकारं दयेयति । विवर्तिनिर्द्वयोऽपरोपीकृत्यस्योपायं दर्शयति । श्रोतव्यो सत्यं सति । प्रथमतो वेदान्त-अपरोचि स्थितव्यदन्वयं सत्यव्यो वृत्तिविचारचित्तव्यतोऽसौ चापेनापरोपी-भवति.

⁶⁷ VI. 4, 73, and VII. 1. 76: इदमपि दृश्यते.

is on this ground that—while disapproving the loose manner in which the Siddhānta-kaumudī imparts to the word *grantha* in Pāṇini's Sūtra, I. 3, 75, the meaning *Veda*,—I cannot altogether reject the identity which is established by this commentary between the two words, though it would have been better, in a gloss on Pāṇini, to have retained the distinction which he himself established for facilitating a clearer understanding of those Sūtras which refer to revealed books, and of others which speak of unrevealed ones.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Compare note 27. I alluded above to the analogy which exists between the trusted words *grantha-astha* and *kāṇḍe-paṇḍitā*. After having shown that the Veda was a written book at Pāṇini's time, I may now quote a passage from the Pāṇinīya of the Nirukta (I. 12): यद्व सकारणविवादादुच्यते इत्युच्यते इति वृत्तितो इति सत्यतो न उच्यते सत्या विवर्तिन्याः प्रकरण एव तु विवर्तिन्याः, which is thus rendered by Mr. Muir, in his valuable work, "Original Sanskrit Texts" (vol. II, p. 188): "This relative deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning. The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context." In this passage the words वृत्तितो इति सत्यतो are equivalent of सत्यतो इत्येतत्.

There is but one other question which can be raised in connection with the present inquiry : Was writing known *before* Pāṇini ?

One word, of frequent occurrence in the Vaidik hymns, or rather the sense which is imparted to it, may enable us, perhaps, to form an opinion on this difficult problem. I mean the word *Rishi*. It is explained by old and modern commentators as “a seer of hymns,” a saint to whom those Vaidik hymns referred to his authorship, were revealed by a divinity. Thus it is said in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi* Vāmadeva obtained *seeing* the R̥gveda-hymn, IV. 26, 1 ; or in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa that the *Rishi seeing* the hymn II. 41, 2, spoke it.⁶⁸ For reasons which

⁶⁸ Śatap. XIV. 4, 2, 22 : तद्वीतयस्मनुर्विर्वाग्देवः प्रतिपेदे । अहं मनुस्मत्वं सूयेवेति. —*Ālter. Br.* 9, 1 : तदेतद्वचिः पञ्चमभूत्वाच निवृत्ता इन्द्रवारचिति. Compare also Müller's “Ancient History,” p. 237 : श्रौतको द्वितीयं मण्डलं दृष्ट्वा, etc. ; or *Ucāta* on the first verse of the R̥ik-prātisākyā (in the valuable edition of Mr. Regnier, “Journal Asiatique,” tome VII. 1856, p. 181) अथको मन्त्रद्वारः ; or *Nāgajihvāta* on

will appear from the statement I shall have to make on the chronological relation of these works to Pāṇini, I cannot appeal to these Brāhmaṇas as evidence for the present purpose ; it is safer to quote Pāṇini himself, who also speaks of hymns which are *seen* (IV. 2, 7), and who must therefore be supposed to record an impression current at, and very probably anterior to, his time. This probability, however, becomes a certainty when we consider the distinct evidence of Yāska, who says that “the Rishis see the hymns with all kinds of intentions,” and who makes mention of a predecessor of his, a son or descendant of Upamanyu, who defined the word “*Rishi* as coming from seeing ; for he saw the hymns.”⁶⁹

There were authorities, consequently, before Pāṇini's time, who

Pāṇini, I. 1, 1 : यश्चकाष्ठद्वारः अथयः ; or the same on IV. 1, 79 : अविशुद्धिनाच मन्त्रद्वारः etc.

⁶⁹ *Nirukta*, 7, 3 : एवमुक्तावचिरभिप्रायिर्द्वीवा मन्त्रद्वयो भवति ; and 2, 11 : अविर्दृश्यात् । सोमान्दद्वयोपमन्त्रवः. Hence Rishi becomes a synonyme of a Vaidik hymn. Compare Pāṇini, IV. 4, 96, or *Sāyana* on R̥ig-v. I. 189, 8 : अविमिर-तोद्दिवाधर्मकायैर्मन्त्रैः.

maintained the doctrine that the hymns were revealed—not to the sense of hearing, but to the sense of sight. That the act of *seeing* may be applied metaphorically to the faculty of thinking or imagining, and the term *seen* to what is imagined or thought, is no matter of dispute. But when we read numerous hymns of the Rîgveda which neither express a truth, nor depict nature or events of life, but which simply manifest the desire of a pious mind;—when we read, for instance, such sentences as, “may this oblation, Agni, be most acceptable to thee;” or “may afflictions fall upon him who does not propitiate the gods;” or “we address our pious prayers to thee, Agni,” etc., what *metaphorical* meaning could connect such words with the notion of seeing?

And we know, too, that it is not merely the general idea conveyed by a hymn, the ethical truth, or the picture of the elementary life, or the display of sacrificial rites, or the praise of the gods, or the imprecation against foes, which is looked to by the worshipper as having been revealed to a Rishi by a divinity,—but that the very words of the hymn, and the very order in which

they stand, were deemed equally a gift from above. The various methods devised by the learned to preserve the words in their integrity and to prevent their order from being disturbed, prove that they did not view these hymns in the light of mere revelations of truths, but in that of revelations of words and of sentences held sacred in the very order and form in which they appear. Nor does the fact that there were various Śákhás with various recensions of several hymns or passages of hymns, invalidate this argument; for each Śákhá claimed its text as the original one, as *the* revealed text; and its belief was, therefore, based on the same ground which was common to all.

If, then, such is the case, the word *seer* loses altogether the power of metaphorical expression; it then applies only to the material fact of seeing material words, such as the divinity holds before the seer’s material eye. The inference to be drawn from these premises is obvious. It seems to derive some corroboration from a collateral fact. The Vaidik writings from immemorial times being communicated by the teacher to his pupil orally, and

the pupil being bound to receive them in this and in no other way, their name, as we find it at the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa-Sūtras, is *śruti*, "hearing," or the sacred text received by the sense of hearing. Though Pāṇini does not use this term, we may fairly admit, on account of his using the word *śrotṛiya*,⁷⁰ that he was acquainted with it, and that the same mode of studying the Vedas was already usual in his time. Now the contrast is marked between "seeing" the Veda and "hearing" it. In metaphorical language both terms would be equivalent; they would express comprehension, of the revealed truth. But there is no metaphor in the term "*śruti*." "Hearing" the Veda rests on a material fact. Why should "seeing" the hymns be considered to rest on a less solid ground?⁷¹

⁷⁰ II. 1, 65, and V. 2, 84. Compare also the Gāṇas to V. 1, 130, 133, *श्रुत* in the Gāṇa to V. 2, 88, and *श्रुति* in the Gāṇa to IV. 2, 138.

⁷¹ The title of Rishi was, at a later period, given to renowned authors, though they were not considered as inspired by a divinity. The Kalpa works, for instance, are admitted on all hands to be human and uninspired compositions; yet Kumārila writes

To extend this view from Yāska and the predecessors he quotes, to the authors of the hymns themselves, would, no doubt, be very hazardous. For even on the supposition that the etymology

in one of his Vārtikas (I. 3, 10): च तावद्गुपिः कश्चित्त्वदेति कल्पसूचकत् । कर्तुं लं यदुषीषां तु तत्सर्वं मन्त्रकृतमम and again: आर्यवचनं निरूपयौयलेन यस्येति । आर्यवचनमिदं कल्पसूत्रेष्ववस्थिता । and आचार्यवचनां च प्रामाण्यं श्रूयते श्रुते । अङ्गानां च प्रवेतार आचार्यो ह्यवयो मताः, *i.e.*, "No mention occurs of an author of a Kalpa work who was not a Rishi; but all that Rishis compose is like that which the authors of Mantras compose The word *śruteya* is a synonym of eternal, and the quality of *śruteya* is vested in the Kalpa-Sūtras . . . ; moreover, the Veda says that the words of *Āchāryas* have authority, and the *Āchāryas* who have composed the Vedāṅgas are deemed Rishis." And though these words of his make part of a Pūrvapakāṣa, and the proposition that the Kalpa works have the same claim to divine origin as the Mantras, is refuted by him in the Siddhānta, his refutation merely concerns this latter part of the discussion, but does not invalidate the title of Rishi given by him to the authors of the Kalpas. For, as he said on a previous occasion: च ह्यल्लानृतं यन् श्रूयते पूर्वपक्षिणः. 'the propounder even of a Pūrvapakāṣa should not say that which is too much at variance with truth (if his Pūrvapakāṣa is to be worthy of being part of a discussion).' The title Rishi had, therefore, already lost its primitive worth in the days of Kumārila, and had undergone the same fate which is common to titles in general.

proposed by the son of Upamanyu is correct,"⁷³ no proof exists that Rishi is conceived in the hymns as implying the seer of *words* or *sentences*. He may be there the real representative of the Roeh who sees the general idea of his prayer or praise, but fashions it with his own—uninspired—words. There are, we may add in proof of this assertion, various instances in the poetry of the R̥gveda, where the poet is spoken of as having "composed" (literally *fabricated* or *generated*), not as having "seen," a hymn; and they belong undoubtedly to real antiquity, as they show greater common sense. Thus it is said in the R̥gveda (I. 171, 2) "this praise accompanied with offerings, Maruts, is made (lit. *fabricated*) for you by the heart," or (VI. 16, 47): "we offer to thee, Agni, the clarified butter in the shape of a hymn made (lit. *fabricated*) by the heart;" or (I. 109, 1, 2): "... my clear understanding

⁷³ That in दृन्, the दृ may be a prefix, is countenanced by the following analogies: दृह (= दृष्ट) and दृष्ट, दृष्ट and दृष्ट. इ (इच्छति) and इ (इच्छति), इत (respected) and इत (respected), दृह and दृह (whence दृहन्) दृह (to be glad) and दृह, दृन् and दृन्.

has been given to me by no one else than by you, Indra and Agni; with it I have made (lit. *fabricated*) to you this hymn, the product of intelligence, which intimates my desire for sustenance. For I have heard that you are more munificent givers than an unworthy bridegroom or the brother of a bride; therefore, in offering you the Soma, I produce (lit. *generate*) for you a new hymn;" or (VII. 7, 6): "these men who have cleverly made (lit. *fabricated*) the hymn, have increased the prosperity of all (living beings) with food."⁷⁴ And when the poet says in a Vāṅmīlya hymn: "Indra and Varuṇa, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech;" *seeing* is obviously used by him in none but a metaphorical sense.⁷⁴ ✓

⁷⁴ Compare, for other instances, Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts," vol. II. p. 208, note 163, and p. 220.

⁷⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 220: इन्द्रवरुणा दृष्टिर्गो मनीषां वासो मतिं युतमदत्तमग्निः । तपसाभ्यपन्नम्. In the same sense *Yāska* says (I. 20): सावाकतधर्मोऽ

There are in the Vaidik age, says Professor Müller (p. 70), "four distinct periods which can be established with sufficient evidence. They may be called the *Chhandas period*, *Mantra period*, *Brāhmaṇa period*, and *Sūtra period*, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character." In the continuation of his work he then defines the Chhandas period as embracing the earliest hymns of the R̥gveda, such as he conceives them to be according to the instances he has selected from the bulk of this Veda (p. 525 ff.). The Mantra period is, in his opinion, represented by the remaining part of the R̥gveda (p. 456 ff.); and the Brāhmaṇa period by the Sāma-veda-saṁhitā, "or the prayer-book of the Udgātri priests," which is entirely collected from the R̥gveda,⁷⁵ the Saṁhitās of

हवयो षमुः, 'the Rishis had an intuitive insight into duty' (Muir, vol. II. p. 174); and Sāyana, e.g. in his gloss on R̥g. I. 162, 7: हवयो णीद्विद्वद्भारः, or on IV. 36, 6: हविरतीद्विद्वद्भारी.

⁷⁵ Professor Benfey has pointed out, in his valuable edition of this Veda, the few verses which cannot be found in the R̥gveda (Pref. p. xix). This redundancy, which is

the Yajurveda (p. 457), the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas, properly so called, and "on the frontier between the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature," the oldest theological treatises or Āraṇyakas and Upanishads (p. 313 ff.). Lastly, the Sūtra period contains, according to him (p. 71 ff.), the Vaidik words written in the Sūtra style, viz.: the six Vedāṅgas or the works on "Sikshā (*pronunciation*), Chhandas (*metre*), Vyākaraṇa (*grammar*), Nirukta (*explanation of words*), Jyotiṣha (*astronomy*), and Kalpa (*ceremonial*)" (p. 113 ff.).

An author has, in general, the right of choosing his terms; nor should I consider it necessary to add a remark on the names by which Müller designates these four periods of his Ancient History, were it not to obviate a misunderstanding which he has not guarded against, though it may be of consequence to do so. Two terms which have served him for the marking of two periods of

apparently at variance with the general doctrine of the Hindu commentators, that the Sāmaveda is extracted from the R̥gveda, proves, in reality, that there must have been, at one time, another recension of the R̥gveda than that which we possess now; a fact clearly proved also by Müller's "Ancient History."

the ancient literature, viz., *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, have been used by him nearly in the same sense in which they occur in the ancient writers ; and if he embraces more works under these heads than those writers would have comprised, it may be fairly admitted that no misconception will result from this enlargement of the original acception of the words *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. But if he designates the two first epochs by the names of *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, with the explicit remark that he has made this division of four periods “according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character” (p. 70), it may be inferred that, as in the case of *Sūtra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, he has chosen those names in conformity with the bearing they have in the ancient literature itself; that the Hindus, when using the words *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, meant by them the older and the more recent hymns of the *Rigveda*. Such, however, is not the case.

Mantra means, as Colebrooke has already defined the word—in conformity with the *Mīmāṃsā* writers—“a prayer, invocation, or declaration. It is expressed in the first person or is addressed in

the second ; it declares the purpose of a pious act, or lauds or invokes the object ; it asks a question or returns an answer ; directs, inquires, or deliberates ; blesses or imprecates ; exalts or laments ; counts or narrates,” etc. “*Mantras* are distinguished under three designations. Those which are in metro are termed *rich*, those chanted are *sāman*, and the rest are *yajus*, sacrificial prayers in prose,” etc.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ “Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society,” I. p. 448, 449.—Compare also Jaiminiya-nyāyamālikā-vistara, I. 4, 1 (*pāropanishad*): तथा योक्तम् । उत्तममन्त्राणां नालाभक्याद्यभावतः । मन्त्रप्रसिद्धभाषायां मन्त्रतीर्थां न युज्यत इति । अथवे ब्रुष्टं निर्वपामीक्षुतमपुनः । अथे यथस्तिवशे समवेदोक्तमन्त्रम् । उर्वो चासि वली चावी-लक्षणाकम् । एवे लोर्वे लेति लाकाकम् । आदिशब्देनापीदितमिति पादनादयः नः —II. 1, 7: तत्र समाख्यानमुष्ठावकारादीनां मन्त्रत्वं नमवति । उर मन्त्रलोकादयो ऽमुष्ठावकाराः । अविमीळे पुरोहितमन्त्रादयः क्षुतिक्याः । एवे लोकादयस्सत्ताः । अथ सा चाहि वीतय ह्वादय आमन्त्रयोपिताः । अपीदपीतिवारेणादयः प्रियक्याः । अथः लिदावीपुर्तिस्त्रिदावीदिवाद्यो विचारक्याः । अमि अमिने ऽन्वाविने न मा नवति अथवेनादयः परिदेवनक्याः । पृच्छामि स्ता परमन्त्रं पृच्छिवा ह्वादयः

The first meaning of *Chhandas*, in the ancient writers, is metre; the second is *verse* in general, and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the Yajurveda. Thus the *Purushasūkta* of the R̥gveda—the late origin of which hymn is proved by its contents—says :⁷⁷ “ From this sacrifice which was offered to the universal spirit sprang the R̥chas (R̥g-verses), the Sāmans (Sāmaveda-verses), the metrical passages (Chhandas) and the Yajus ;” which latter words seem to be referable only to the two

प्रत्नरूपाः । वेदिमातुः परमं पृथिव्या इत्यादय उत्तररूपाः । एवमन्वदयुदाहार्यम्
etc.—II. 1, 10—12 : पादव्येनार्यव्येन चोपेता वृत्तवत्ता मन्वा ऋचः । मीतिरूपा
मन्वाः सामानि । वृत्तमीतिवर्तितलेन प्रशिष्टपठिता मन्वा यजूषीयुक्ते न क्तापि संकरः
—II. 1, 13 : ततो मन्वायां वैविध्यं सुस्मितम्.

⁷⁷ R̥gveda (X. 90, 9) : तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वजित ऋचः सामानि ऋचिरे । ऋचांसि
ऋचिरे तस्माद्यज्ञाद्व्यावृत्तः । Sāyana, it is true, renders ऋचांसि with गायत्र्यादीनि,
when the word would simply mean “ metre ;” but it does not seem natural that the
enumeration of the three Vedas should be interrupted by a word meaning “ metre,”
while on the other hand the word Yajus alone might have left a doubt as to whether the
metrical contents of this Veda are included in it or not.

characteristic portions of the Yajurveda, since Yajus in general designates its prosaic part. In a verse of the Atharvaveda it is contrasted, in a similar manner, with the Yajurveda, and seems to imply there the verses of the Atharvaveda : “ From the remainder of the sacrifice sprang the R̥chas, Sāmans, the verses (*Chhandas*), the old legendary lore, together with the Yajus.”⁷⁸ In the Sūtras of Pāṇini the word *Chhandas* occurs, in rules which concern Vaidik words, one hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty-three Sūtras ; in rules of this category it means Veda in general, comprising thus the Mantra- as well as the Brāhmaṇa- portion of the Veda. Whenever, therefore, such a general rule concerning a Vaidik word is restricted or modified in the Mantra portion, Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Mantra, and thus assumes the sense of Brāhmaṇa ; or whenever such a general rule is restricted or modified in the Brāhmaṇa portion,

⁷⁸ Atharv. XI. 7, 24 : ऋचः सामानि ऋचांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ! ऋच्छिष्टाऋचिरे
etc.—In this sentence *Chhandas* is separated from the word Yajus by the word *Purāṇa*,
which here probably implies the legends of the Brāhmaṇas.

Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Brāhmaṇa, and therefore assumes the sense of Mantra.⁷⁹

From no passage, however, in the ancient literature, can we infer that *Mantra* conveyed or implied the idea of a later portion, and *Chhandas* that of an earlier portion of the R̥gveda hymns.

Some very questionable points in the detail of this distribution

⁷⁹ Thus it is used by Pāṇini in the general sense of *Veda*: I. 2. 61; 4. 9. 20. 81; II. 3. 3; 4. 28. 39. 73. 76; III. 1. 42. 50. 59. 84. 123; 2. 63. 88. 103. 137. 170; 3. 1. 29; 4. 6. 88. 117; IV. 1. 29. 46. 59; 3. 19. 150; 4. 106. 110, etc. It is contrasted with *Mantra*, for instance, I. 2. 36 (comp. 34. 35. 37); III. 2. 73 (comp. 71. 72); with *Brāhmaṇa*, for instance, IV. 2. 66; IV. 3. 106 (comp. 105).—The meaning "desire" of the word *chhandas* has not been mentioned above, as being irrelevant for the present purpose; nor was it necessary to give passages from Pāṇini where the word has the general sense "metre," such as III. 3. 34, etc., or as base becomes the subject of rules respecting its derivatives.—Professor Weber has adverted in his "Indische Studien" (vol. i. p. 29 note) to the manner in which Pāṇini has used *chhandas*; he defines it, however, as meaning first, "desire;" then "a prayer of desire, prayer, mantra, contrasted with *brāhmaṇa*, IV. 2. 66; then in a more extended sense, even *brāhmaṇārtham*, III. 2. 73" [or shall this mean, asks he, *brāhmaṇavivārtham*? Certainly not, for the word is contrasted in III. 2. 73 with the word *mantra* of III. 2. 71 (72), and implies therefore in this Sūtra

of the Vaidik literature will be noticed by me hereafter as touching the ground on which I have raised this inquiry into the chronological results of Professor Müller's work. There is, however, one general question which must be dealt with previously. If Müller had contented himself with simply arranging his subject-matter as he has done, we could readily assent to the logical or esthetical point of view which, we might have inferred, had guided him in

the sense *brāhmaṇa*]; and then "in the widest sense, generally, *veda*, as contrasted with *loke*, *bhūdhājim* and its ślokas (IV. 3. 102 a)." [The latter instance is not happy, since it belongs to a Vārtika of the Kāśikā, and since there are more than a hundred Sūtras of Pāṇini which might have been referred to for the corroboration of the sense *Veda*]. Lastly he says, it means "metre."—But this reversal of the meanings of *chhandas* is not only objectionable etymologically; it prevents our understanding how *chhandas* could mean both a poetical and a prosaic passage of the Vedas. Hence, the incidental question of Weber and his conjecture,—which could not have arisen if he had started from the general sense *Veda*, which *if contrasted* (but only then) with *mantra*, would imply the sense *Brāhmaṇa*, and *vice versa*. It seems, moreover, that the sense "desire" marks the last stage of its development; in short, that *chhandas* means: 1. metre; 2. a verse; 3. a verse as prayer; 4. *Veda* in general, which may become modified to *Mantra* or *Brāhmaṇa*; 4. desire.

planning his work. But he does not allow us to take this view, when he assigns dates to these periods severally. The "Chhandas period," he says, comprises the space of time from 1200 to 1000 B.C. (p. 572), the "Mantra period" from 1000 to 800 B.C. (pp. 497, 572), the Bráhmaṇa period "from 800 to 600 B.C. (p. 435), and the "Sūtra period" from 600 to 200 B.C. (pp. 249, 313). In other words, his arrangement is meant to be an historical one. He does not classify ancient Sanskrit literature into a scientific, a ritual, a theological, and poetical literature, each of which might have had *its coeval representatives*, but he implies by these dates that when the poetical epoch, his Chhandas- and Mantra- epoch, had terminated its verses, the theological time, that of the Bráhmaṇas and Upanishads etc., set to work; and when this had done with theology, the ritual and scientific period displayed its activity, until it paused about 200 B.C. I need scarcely observe that such an assumption is highly improbable, unless we suppose that India which, from the time of Herodotus, has always enjoyed the privilege of being deemed the land of supernatural facts, has also in

this matter set at defiance the ordinary law of human development. But this doubt seems to derive some support from Müller's own arguments. In the course of his researches he has confirmed the general opinion, that a Sūtra work presupposes, of necessity, the existence of a Bráhmaṇa, and that a Bráhmaṇa cannot be conceived without a collection of hymns, the Saṁhitá. Thus the ritual Sūtras of Áśwvaláyana would have been impossible unless a Bráhmaṇa of the R̥gveda—for instance, the Aitareya-Bráhmaṇa,—had been known to him; for he founds his precepts on it; and such a Bráhmaṇa, in quoting the hymns of the R̥gveda, implies, as a matter of course, a previous collection of hymns, a R̥gveda itself. Yet, though this argument is unexceptionable, and may be used, perhaps—not without objections of some weight—so as to presuppose in Áśwvaláyana a knowledge of, and therefore as prior to him, a Sāmaveda and a Taittiríya-Saṁhitá—where is the logical necessity that the Vájasaneyi-Saṁhitá and the Śatapatha-Bráhmaṇa (belonging to Müller's third period, 800—600 B.C.) existed before Áśwvaláyana who lived, according to him, between 600 and 200

before Christ? His Sūtras would be perfectly intelligible if neither of the two last-named works had been composed at all. And, again, where is the logical necessity that the Upanishads should have been written before the authors of the Kalpa Sūtras, the Grammar, etc., since all these works are quite independent in spirit and in substance from the theosophy of Upanishads or Aranyakas. On what ground does Professor Müller separate Pāṇini from these latter writings by at least 250 years, when there is no trace of any description in his Sūtras, either that he knew this kind of literature or that his Grammar would not have been exactly the same as it is now if he had lived much before the time of these theological works? I shall recur to this latter question; but I cannot conclude the expression of my misgivings as to this historical division without questioning, too, the usefulness of these dates in general. They are not founded, as Müller himself repeatedly admits, on any basis whatever.⁸⁰ Neither is there a

⁸⁰ "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 244: "It will readily be seen, how entirely hypo-

single reason to account for his allotting 200 years to the three first of his periods, nor for his doubling this amount of time in the case of the Sūtra period. He records, it is true, his personal impression alone in speaking of 1200, 1000 years, and so on; but the expediency of giving vent to feelings which deal with hundreds and thousands of years, as if such abstract calculations were suitable

theoretical all these arguments are As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras." p. 435: "Considering, therefore, that the Brāhmaṇa period must comprehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brāhmaṇas, the formation of Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas and the schism between old and new Charaṇas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years. Of course this is merely conjectural, but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years of that mass of Brāhmaṇic literature which still exists, or is known to have existed." p. 497: "I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Maṇtra period between 800 and 1000 B.C." [Where is the least probability of this date?] p. 572: "The chronological limits assigned to the Sūtra and Brāhmaṇa periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to

to the conditions of human life, appears very doubtful, if we consider that there are many who will not read his learned work with the special interest and criticism which it inspires in a Sanskrit philologist, but will attach a much higher import to his feelings than he himself does. One omission, moreover, I cannot leave unnoticed in these general dates, since it has a bearing, not merely on the intervals of his periods, but on their starting points.

Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, speaks of the Jyotisha, the ancient Vaidik calendar; and after having quoted a "remarkable" passage of this Vedānga, in which the then place of the colures is stated, continues (M.E. vol. i. p. 109, or As. Res. viii. p. 493): "Hence it is clear that Dhanishthā and Āśleshā are the constella-

the Mantra period, from 800 to 1000 B.C., and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B.C., we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world."—But is 1200 B.C. a primary age of the world, except in biblical geology?

tions meant; and that when this Hindu calendar was regulated, the solstitial points were reckoned to be at the beginning of the one, and in the middle of the other: and such was the situation of those cardinal points, in the *fourteenth century before the Christian era*. I formerly (As. Res. vii. p. 283, or Essays, i. p. 201) had occasion to show from another passage of the Vedas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, and as also suggested in the passage now quoted from the Jyotish, agrees with such a situation of the cardinal points."

We have evidence, therefore, from this passage of the Jyotisha, that an arrangement of Vaidik hymns must have been completed in the fourteenth century before Christ; and as such an arrangement cannot have preceded the origin of the hymns comprised by it, we have evidence that these hymns do not belong to a more recent date. Nor is there any ground for doubting the genuineness of this calendar, or for assuming that the Hindu astronomers, when it was written, had knowledge enough to forge a combination, or if they had, that, in the habit of dealing with millions of years, they would have

used this knowledge for the sake of forging an antiquity of a few hundred years. Yet the oldest hymns of the *Rigveda* are, according to Müller's opinion, not older than 1200 before Christ.

He has not only not invalidated the passage I have quoted, but he has not even made mention of it. Yet a scholar like Colebrooke, laid, as I have shown, great stress on it: it is he who calls it "remarkable;" and scholars like Wilson and Lassen have based their conclusions on Colebrooke's words.⁴¹ Should we, therefore, be satisfied with the absolute silence of Müller on the statements and opinions of these distinguished scholars, or account for it by the words of his preface?⁴²

⁴¹ See Lassen's "*Indische Alterthumskunde*," I. p. 747. Wilson's Introduction to his Translation of the *Rigveda*, vol. I. p. xlviii.

⁴² Page vi.: "Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I have throughout carefully abstained from it. Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn from these facts."

No one, indeed, to the best of my knowledge, has ever doubted the accuracy of Colebrooke's calculation, but Professor Weber, who, in his "*Indische Studien*," vol. i. p. 85, thus expresses himself:—"I avail myself of this opportunity to observe that before Colebrooke's astronomical calculation (*M. E. i. p. 110, 201*) has been examined once more, astronomically, and found correct, I cannot make up my mind, to assign to the present *Jyotih-cāstras*, the composition of which betrays—in language and style—a very recent period, any historical importance whatever for the fixing of the time when the *Vedas* were composed." Thus it seems that Professor Weber would make up his mind to that effect if some one would comply with his desire, and confirm the result of Colebrooke's calculation. But, we must ask, on what ground rests this desire, which, in other words, is nothing but a very off-hand slur aimed at Colebrooke's scholarship or accuracy? Is Colebrooke a third-rate writer, to deserve this supercilious treatment? Has he, in his editions or translations of texts, taken such liberties as to forfeit our confidence? Has he falsified antiquity by substituting

for its traditions his own foregone conclusions or ignorance? Has he appropriated to himself the labour of others, or meddled with subjects he did not thoroughly understand? His writings, one would think, prove that he is a type of accuracy and conscientiousness,—an author in whom even unguarded expressions are of the rarest kind, much more so errors or hasty conclusions drawn from erroneous facts. But Colebrooke was not only a distinguished Sanakritist, he was an excellent astronomer. Lassen calls him the profoundest judge in matters of Hindu astronomy; ^a and he is looked upon as such by common consent. Yet, to invalidate the testimony of a scholar of his learning and character, Professor Weber, simply because a certain date does not suit his taste, and because his feelings, unsupported by any evidence, make him suppose that the Jyotisha “betrays in language and style a

very recent period,” has nothing to say but that he “will not make up his mind” to take that date for any good until somebody shall have examined that which Colebrooke had already examined, and, by referring to it, had relied upon as an established fact!

It is but just to add, that three or seven years after he had administered this singular lesson to Colebrooke, Weber once more is haunted by the asterisms Dhanishthá and Áleshá, and once more rejects their evidence as to Hindu antiquity.^b This time, however, it is no longer the accuracy of Colebrooke’s statement which inspires his doubt—he passes it over in silence altogether—but the origin of the arrangement of the Hindu Nakshatras. “Since,” he says, “the latter was not made by the Hindus themselves, but borrowed from the Chaldeans, it is obvious that no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it respecting Hindu antiquity.”^c But he does not mention that Lassen, whose opinion

^a In an essay on “Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Ländern im Westen,” written in April, 1853, and printed in the “Indische Skizzen,” 1857.

^b “Indische Skizzen,” p. 73, note.

^c “Indische Alterth.” vol. I. p. 824: “Ueber die Fortschritte der Inder in der Astronomie in der ältesten Zeit drückt sich *der gründlichste Kenner des Gegenstandes* (Colebrooke, a. a. O. II. p. 447) auf folgende Weise aus, etc.”

will have, I assume, as much claim to notice as his own, had adduced weighty reasons for assigning the Hindu Nakshatras to Chinese origin; and had likewise, referring to the Veda-calendar, observed:—"As it is certain now that there existed in ancient times an intercourse, not thought of hitherto, between the Hindus and the Chinese, and that, with the latter, the use of the *sieu* ascends to a far higher antiquity, no objection can be founded on the Chinese origin of the Nakshatras, against their having been used by the Hindus at a time which is adverted to in their oldest astronomical observations on record. These observations belong to the fourteenth century B.C., and it results from them that the Hindus at that period dwelt in the northern part of India."⁸⁷

But, strange to remark, a year after having expressed his repeated doubt, Professor Weber records his poetical views on the earliest period of Hindu civilisation in the following manner:—"From the Kabul river to the Sadánirá, from the remotest point

of the western to that of the eastern border of India, there are twenty degrees, three hundred geographical miles, which had to be conquered (by the Áryas) one after the other. Thus we are able to claim, without any further remark, 1000 years as a minimum time for the period of occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and brahmanizing this immense tract of land; and thus we are brought back to about 1500 B.C. as the time when the Indian Áryas still dwelt on the Kabul, and after which they commenced to extend themselves over India."⁸⁸

In short, with fantastical certainty he scruples about astronomical facts, and presents fantastical facts with astronomical certainty. I doubt whether this critical method will strengthen the faith of the general public in certain results of Sanskrit philology.

"If we succeed," says Professor Müller (p. 215), "in fixing

⁸⁷ "Die neuern Forschungen über das alte Indien. Ein Vortrag, im Berliner wissenschaftlichen Verein gehalten am 4. März, 1854;" printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857, p. 14.

⁸⁸ "Indische Alterthumskunde," vol. I. p. 747.

the relative age of any one of these Sūtrākāras, or writers of Sūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vedic and the classical literature of India." This inference does not seem conclusive; for neither can the age of one individual author be held sufficient to fix the extent of a period which, according to Müller's own views, may embrace, at least, 400 years, and probably more; nor has Müller shown that the older portions of the Mahābhārata and, perhaps, the Rāmāyaṇa, might not have co-existed with some, at least, of the authors of his Sūtra period. He says, it is true, in the commencement of his work (p. 68):—"Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh-słoka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic Słoka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, and that, in some of the Sūtras, the Anushtubh-słoka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is

only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature." But this very important assertion, even with its last restriction, is left by him without any proof. For, when he adds, in a note (p. 69), "It is remarkable that in Pāṇini also, the word *śłoka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature (Pāṇ. IV. 2, 66; IV. 3, 102, v. 1; IV. 3, 107)," I must observe, in the first place, that in none of these quotations does the word *Śłoka* belong to Pāṇini.⁸⁸ The first of these instances, where *Śłoka* occurs, cannot be traced to a higher antiquity than that of Patanjali; the second, which coincides with it, occurs in the commentary of the late Kāsikā on a Vārtika, the

⁸⁸ The quotations of Müller's note to his p. 69 are IV. 1, 66, instead of IV. 2, 66, and IV. 3, 103, 1, instead of IV. 3, 102, v. 1; but as the word *śłoka* neither occurs in the Sūtra, nor in the Vārtika nor in the commentaries on the former quotations, I was probably right in assuming that they were errors of the press, and in substituting for them the figures given, which are the nearest approach to them. There is indeed one Sūtra of Pāṇini where *śłoka* and *mantra* are mentioned together, viz., the Sūtra III. 2, 23, but I am not aware that any conclusion similar to that mentioned above could be drawn from it.

antiquity of which rests on the authority of this work ; and, in the last quoted rule, the word *Słoka* likewise belongs to no other authority than that of the same late commentary. But, in the second place, it seems to me that these very instances may be used to prove exactly the reverse of Müller's views.

I should quite admit the expediency of his observation if its object had been to lay down a criterion by which a class of works might become recognisable. There is, however, clearly, a vast difference between an external mark, concerning the *contents* of certain writings, and the making of such a mark a basis for computing *periods* of literature. For, when Patanjali or the Kásiká, in illustrating the rules IV. 2, 66, or IV. 3, 102, says that a Vaidik composition of *Tittiri* is called *Taittiríya*, but that such a derivative would not apply to the *Słokas* composed by Tittiri; they distinctly contrast the two kinds of composition, but they as distinctly state that the same personage was the author of both. And the same author, of course, cannot belong to two different *periods* of literature,

separated, as Müller suggests, from one another by at least several centuries. The same remark applies to the instance by which the Kásiká exemplifies the import of the rule IV. 3, 107 ; it contrasts here the Vaidik work with the *Słokas* of the same author, *Charaka*.

But I will give some other instances, which, in my opinion, corroborate the doubt I have expressed as to the chronological bearing of this word. Kátáyana, who is assigned by Müller to the Súra period, and rightly so, so far as the character of some of his works is concerned, is the author of *Słokas* which are called *Bhrája*, "the Splendid." This fact is drawn from Patanjali's commentary on Páṇini and Kaiyyāṭa's gloss on Patanjali (p. 23 and 24 of Dr. Ballantyne's valuable edition.)⁸⁸ Now, the word *Słoka*, if used in

⁸⁸ Patanjali (p. 23): कृत् पुनरिदं पठितम् । आवा नाम श्लोकाः.—Kaiyyāṭa (p. 24): आवावनीपनिवत्तथावाक्यश्लोकमन्त्रपठितक सख मुतिरगुपाहिकादि । एकः शब्दः सुवातः सुप्रयुक्तः सर्वे श्लोके कामधुग्भवतीति.—Nāgajibhāṣa (p. 23) : आवा नाम का-त्यायनप्रदीताः श्लोका इत्याहुः

reference to whole works, always implies the Anuṣṭubh-śloka : thus Müller himself properly calls the laws of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Parāśara, "Śloka-works." (p. 86). It would seem, therefore, that the *Bhṛāja-ślokas* of Kātyāyana were such a work in *continuous* Anuṣṭubhs. A second instance is the *Karmapradīpa*, which is a work of the same Kātyāyana, and is mentioned as such by Müller himself (p. 235) on the authority of Shadguruśishya ; it is written in the "regular and continuous Anuṣṭubh-śloka," as every one may ascertain from the existing MS. copies of this work. *Vyādi*, or *Vyādi*, who is an earlier authority than Kātyāyana (see Müller's History, p. 241), composed a work called *Sangraha*, or "Compendium" in one hundred thousand Ślokas ; and there can be little doubt that this information, which is given by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, applies to a work in the *continuous* Anuṣṭubh verse.⁹⁰ And this very

⁹⁰ Patanjali (ed. Ballantyne, p. 43) : संवह एतन्माध्याख्येन परीक्षितम्.—Kātyāyana : संवह इति । यन्मविशिष्टे.—Nāgajibhaṭṭa : संवहो व्याख्येतो सचक्षोःसंख्यो यन्व इति प्रविष्टिः.—This remark concerns the use which is made of the word Śloka in reference

Vyādi, I may here state, will hereafter become of peculiar interest to us on account of his near relationship to Pāṇini. It is evident, therefore, that the "uniform employment of that metre" is not a criterion necessitating the relegation of a work written in it to a period more recent than 200 before Christ.

The "writer of a Sūtra" which, in Müller's opinion, may help us to fix the whole period of the Sūtra literature, is KĀTYĀYANA ; and, if I do not mistake his meaning, PĀṆINI too. For Müller arrives at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived about 350 B.C., and, if I am right, that Pāṇini was his contemporary.⁹¹

to whole, especially extensive, works. *Single verses*, not of the Anuṣṭubh class, are sometimes also called Ślokas ; thus Kaiyaṣa calls so the *Āryā* verse of the Kārikā to II. 4, 85, or IV. 4, 9, etc., or the *Dadhaka* verses of the Kārikās to VI. 4, 12, or VIII. 2, 108 ; and Nāgajibhaṭṭa gives the name of Śloka to the *Indrasajra* and *Upendrasajra* of the Kārikā to I. 1, 38 ; but I know of no instance in which a whole work written in such verses is simply spoken of as having been written in Ślokas.

⁹¹ I regret that I am not able to refer with greater certainty to Müller's views on their contemporaneity. In page 198 he writes : "Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini ;" p. 245 : "Now, if Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century

The reason for assigning this date to Kātyāyana is contained in the following passage of the "Ancient Sanskrit Literature:"—"Let us consider," says Müller, after having established the identity of Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana Vararuchi (p. 240 ff.), "the information which we receive about Kātyāyana Vararuchi from Brahmanic sources. Somadevabhāṭṭa of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards

B.C., etc." [this is the date which Müller assigns to Kātyāyana]; p. 303: "the old Kātyāyana Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pāṇini;" but at p. 184 he says: "at the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pāṇini"—which clearly implies that he here considers Pāṇini's time as prior to Kātyāyana's, since Kātyāyana wrote a critical work on Pāṇini, the Vārtikas; and on p. 44, 45 he observes: "if, then, Āśvalāyana can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor of Pāṇini, etc.;" but p. 239: "we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils: first, Śaunaka; after him, Āśvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works; thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana; fourthly, Patanjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana's works; and lastly, Yāsa, who commented on a work of Patanjali. It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āśvalāyana, or that Patanjali lived immediately after Kātyā-

the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-saritsāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories. Here we read that Kātyāyana Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśāmbi, the capital of Vatsa. He was a boy of great talent, and extraordinary powers of memory. He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the

yana, but the smallest interval which we can admit between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger." Now, if according to the first alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a contemporary of Pāṇini, the latter becomes a doubtful contemporary of Kātyāyana, according to the quotation from p. 239; and if, according to the other alternative of p. 45, Āśvalāyana was a successor of Pāṇini, there is, according to p. 239, still a greater probability that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana were not contemporaries. Again, at p. 230, he says: "from all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that the relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Śākha, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana." But if Āśvalāyana is an immediate successor of Pāṇini (p. 45), and an immediate successor of Śaunaka (p. 239), Pāṇini and Śaunaka must be contemporaries; and if Śaunaka is anterior to Kātyāyana (p. 230, and comp. p. 249), Pāṇini, too, must have preceded Kātyāyana. Acting, therefore, on the rule of

theatre; and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the *Prātisākhya* which he had heard from Vyāli. He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy. By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pāṇini. Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pāṇini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it. He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pāṭaliputra.

probabilities, and perceiving that Müller three times distinctly calls Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and allows by inference only this date to be subverted two-and-a-half times, it is fair to assume that he believed rather in the contemporaneity of both, than otherwise. The correctness of this belief I shall have to make the subject of further discussion; but when I find myself compelled to infer from Müller's expressions that Pāṇini is, to him, a contemporary of Śaunaka, I must, in passing, observe that Pāṇini himself repudiates this conclusion, *far* in the *Sūtra* IV. 3, 106, which is intimately connected with IV. 3, 105, Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an *ancient* authority.

"We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pāṇini's Grammar, such as we now possess it."²² His Vārtikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pāṇini. The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact. Again, we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of one of the *Prātisākhyas*, and Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the *Prātisākhyas* as an earlier authority on the same subject. So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of Shadgurusishya and with the facts as we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana. It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word; yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian,

²² Note of Müller: "The same question with regard to the probable age of Pāṇini, has been discussed by Prof. Bühlingk in his edition of Pāṇini. Objections to Prof. Bühlingk's arguments have been raised by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*. See also *Rig-veda*, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction."

may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana. If Somadeva followed the same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman Kalhana Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rājataranginī* or *History of Kashmir*, he would, in calling Pāṇini and Kātyāyana the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them long before the times which we are wont to call historical. But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology. Chandragupta, of Pāṭaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator; and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries B.C. We shall have to examine hereafter the different accounts which the Buddhists and Brahmans give of Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the Nandas. Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva's

story, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana himself minister of Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta's accession to the throne. This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story,²² and had to be inserted in order to connect Kātyāyana's story with other fables of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara. But there still remains this one fact, however slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A.D., the popular tradition of the Brahmans connected the famous grammarians Kātyāyana and Pāṇini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Śūdra dynasty; and thus, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B.C."

Thus, the whole foundation of Müller's date rests on the

²² Note of Müller: "According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. *As. Res.* xx. p. 167."

authority of Somadeva, the author of "an Ocean of [or rather, *for*] the Rivers of Stories," who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ. Somadeva, I am satisfied, would not be a little surprised to learn that "a European point of view" raises a "ghost story" of his to the dignity of an historical document. Müller himself, as we see, says that it would be "wrong" to expect in a work of this kind "historical or chronological facts;" he is doubtful as to the date which might have been in Somadeva's mind when he speaks of King Nanda; he will "disregard" the fact that Kátyáyana becomes, in the tale quoted, a minister of Nanda; he admits that a story current in the middle of the 12th century about Kátyáyana and Pāṇini is but a "slender" fact;—in short, he pulls down every stone of this historical fabric; and yet, because Nanda is mentioned in this amusing tale, he "*must*" place Kátyáyana's life about 350 B.C.

I have but one word to add: however correct the criticisms of Müller on the value of this tale may be, the strength of his conclusion would have become still more apparent than it is now,

if instead of the abstract of the story, which he has given, a literal translation of it had preceded his premises; for the very form of the tale, and its incidental absurdities, would have illustrated, much better than his sober account of it, its value as a source of chronology. I subjoin, therefore, a portion of it, from the fourth chapter of this work. Kátyáyana, the grammatical saint and author of the Kalpa-sūtras, after having told Kānabhāti how once upon a time he became enamoured of a beautiful damsel, by what feelings he was moved, and that he at last married the fair Upakośā, continues as follows: "Some time after, Varsha (who in another tale is said to have lived at Pātaliputra during the reign of Nanda) had a great number of pupils. One of them was a great blockhead, by the name of Pāṇini; he, tired of the service, was sent away by the wife of Varsha. To do penance, he went, grieved yet desirous of knowledge, to the Himālaya; there he obtained from Śiva, who was pleased with his fierce austerities, a new grammar which was the introduction to all science. Now he came back and challenged me to a disputation; and seven days

passed on while our disputation proceeded. When on the eighth day, however, he was defeated by me, instantly Śiva (appeared) in a cloud (and) raised a tremendous uproar. Thus my grammar, which had been given to me by Indra, was destroyed on earth; and we all, vanquished by Pāṇini, became fools again."

It is almost needless for me to state, that the *profound* researches of Dr. Otto Boehtlingk in his "*commentary*" on Pāṇini, are based on the same interesting "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," and have duly advocated the same date of Pāṇini's life. But as we have become already acquainted with the *reasoning* of the "*editor*" of Pāṇini, it will not appear devoid of interest to recall his arguments, which differ in several respects from those of Professor Müller. In the Rājataranginī, the Chronicle of Kashmir, he says (p. xv.), we read that Abhimanyu ordered Chandra and other grammarians to introduce the great commentary of Patañjali into Kashmir. Now, continues he (p. xvii), "the age of King Abhimanyu, under whose reign Chandra lived, can be ascertained by various ways, which all lead to the same result," viz., to the date

100 B.C.; and (p. xviii) "since we have found that Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya came into general use in Kashmir through Chandra, about 100 B.C., we are probably justified in pushing the composition of this great commentary to the Sūtras of Pāṇini, into the year 150. Between Patañjali and Pāṇini there are still three grammarians known to us, as we have observed before (p. xiv; viz., Kātyāyana, the author of the Paribhāṣās, and the author of the Kārikās), who made contributions to the Grammar of Pāṇini. We need therefore only make a space of fifty years between each couple of them, in order to arrive at the year 350, into the neighbourhood of which date our grammarian is to be placed, according to the Kathā-sarit-sāgara."

"Every way," says the French proverb, "leads to Rome,"—but not every way leads to truth, even in chronology. There is one way for instance, and it was ~~the~~ proper way, which led Professor Lassen⁴ to the correct result that Abhimanyu did not live about

⁴ "Indische Alterthums-kunde," vol. II. p. 412.

100 B.C., but between 40 and 65 after Christ. As to the triad of grammarians which is "known" to Dr. Boehtlingk between Pāṇini and Patanjali, and represented to his mind by Kātyāyana, and what he calls *the* author of the *Paribhāṣā* and *the* author of the *Kārikā*s, I must refer to my subsequent statements, which will show the worth of this specious enumeration. But, when Dr. Boehtlingk required 200 years between Patanjali and Pāṇini, simply to square his account with the "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," it would be wrong to deny that he has rightly divided 200 by 4; nor should I doubt that he would have managed with less ability the more difficult task of dividing 2000 or 20000 years by 4, if such an arithmetical feat had been required of him by that source of historical chronology, the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*.

Professor Müller must have had some misgivings like my own as to the critical acumen and accuracy of Dr. Boehtlingk's investigations. For, in the first instance, he does not start from the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* in order to arrive at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived fifty years after Pāṇini; on the contrary, he makes,

as we have seen, both grammarians contemporaries; judging, no doubt, that two men who enjoyed a very substantial fight cannot have lived at different times, even in a story book. Then he adverts likewise (p. 243) to the little mistake of Dr. Boehtlingk concerning Abhimanyu's date; in short, he denies the validity of all the arguments alleged by Dr. Boehtlingk, save those which are founded on the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*. When therefore he, nevertheless, says (p. 301) that the researches of Professor Boehtlingk "with regard to the age of Pāṇini deserve the highest credit," I am at a loss to understand this handsome compliment, even though it strengthen his assurance (p. 310) "that Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology."⁸⁵

That Sanskrit philology should not yet possess the means of ascertaining the date of Pāṇini's life, is, no doubt, a serious

⁸⁵ In reply to this compliment, Dr. Boehtlingk makes the following bow: "Alles was zur Entscheidung dieser Frage beitragen könnte, finden wir auf das sorgfältigste

impediment to any research concerning the chronology of ancient Hindu works. For Pāṇini's Grammar is the centre of a vast and

zusammengestellt und erwogen in einem so eben erschienenen Werke von Max Müller, einem Werke, in welchem überraschende Belesenheit, Scharfsinn und geistreiche Behandlung des Stoffes den Leser in beständiger Spannung erhalten;" i.e., "All that can contribute to the solution of this question—(viz., that of the introduction of writing into India) we find put together and examined in the most careful manner, in a work by Max Müller, just published, a work in which surprising acquaintance with the literature, acuteness and ingenious treatment of the subject-matter, never suffer the reader's attention to flag." The testimonial he thus gratuitously gives to his own knowledge of "all that can contribute to the solution of that question," reached me too late to be noticed in the previous pages, as they were already in the press; it is contained in a paper of his, having the title "Ein Paar Worte zur Frage über das Alter der Schrift in Indien." These "few words" do not contain, indeed, a particle of fact bearing on the question, but much *reasoning*, of which the following concluding passage is the summary: "Nach meinem Dafürhalten also wurde die Schrift zur *Verbreitung* der Literatur in den älteren Zeiten nicht verwandt, wohl aber wurde sie zum *Schaffen* neuer Werke zu Hülfe genommen. Der Verfasser schrieb sein Werk nieder, lernte es aber dann auswendig oder liess es durch Andere memoriren. Niedergeschriebene Werke wurden in der älteren Zeit wohl selten von Neuem abgeschrieben, mögen aber im Original in der Familie als Heiligthümer aufbewahrt und

important branch of the ancient literature. No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development of

geheim gehalten worden sein. Möglicher Weise vernichtete aber auch der Autor sein Schriftwerk, sobald er dasselbe memorirt hatte, um nicht durch sein Beispiel Andere zu verleiten, um sich nicht des Vorwurfs einer Verrätheri an der Priesterkaste schuldig zu machen, vielleicht auch um nicht als gewöhnlicher Autor, dem das Werk allmählich unter den Händen entsteht, zu erscheinen, sondern als ein inspirirter Seher, der, ohne alle Mühe und Anstrengung von seiner Seite beim Schaffen, ein Werk in abgeschlossener Gestalt im Geiste erschaut und als ein solcher von den Göttern Bevorzugter weiter verkündet;" i.e., "In my opinion, therefore, writing was not used in the olden times for the *propagation* of literature, but was resorted to for the *production* of new works. The author wrote down his work, but then learnt it by heart, or made others commit it to memory. Probably, works once written down, were not copied anew in the olden time, with rare exceptions; but the original manuscripts were perhaps preserved as sacred relics in the family, and kept secret. But it is possible, too, that the author destroyed his written work, after he had committed it to memory, in order not to seduce others by his example, nor to make himself guilty of the reproach of treason towards the caste of priests; perhaps, too, not to appear as an ordinary author, whose work grew gradually under his hands, but as an inspired seer who, without any labour and exertion in producing, had seen in his mind a work in a finished form, and, as a person thus favoured by the gods, had proclaimed it abroad."—This *reasoning* will not surprise

India. It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vaidik commentaries. It is appealed to by

as in the author of a "commentary on Pāṇini" (compare note 48, etc.). Yet I must ask, whence he derived his information that it was treason towards the Brāhmaṇa caste to write or to produce a manuscript? or whence he has learnt that an author could, in olden times, pass himself off as an inspired seer who was favoured by the gods, without, of course, being chastised by his countrymen, as an impostor? *Meas* XI. 55, treats of *false boasting*—**अपुनं सगुर्वै**—as a crime equal to that of killing a Brāhmaṇa; and *Yājñavalkya*, III. 229, places it on the same level with the drinking of spirituous liquors, which crime is expiated only after the sinner has drunk either boiling spirits, or boiling butter, cow's urine, or milk, until he dies (III. 253). Veracity, moreover, is known to be one of the principal features of the character of the ancient Hindus, as, in the epic legends, a word spoken, or a promise made, is always deemed irrevocable and binding. It is notorious that the Hindu authorities did not look upon any one as an inspired seer, except the author of a Mantra, and, probably, at a more recent period, of a Brāhmaṇa. The Kalpa works were never considered to be anything but human productions, and I know only of one instance, viz., that of Pāṇini, where the author of a scientific work was supposed to have received it from a divinity.—In other words, to the mind of Dr. Bochtlingk the whole of the ancient scientific literature of India presents a picture of a gigantic swindle and imbecility; on the one side are the charlatans who write works, learn them by heart, and burn the manuscripts, in order to appear in direct communication

every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty. Besides the inspired seers of the works which are the root of Hindu belief, Pāṇini is the only one, among those authors of scientific works who may be looked upon as real personages, who is a Rishi in the proper sense of the word,—an author supposed to have had the foundation of his work revealed to him by a divinity.* Yet, however we may regret the necessity

with a divinity; on the other, is the idiotic nation which believes that the learned quacks are inspired seers favoured by the gods! It is not a little characteristic, but at the same time very intelligible, that this should be the view of the "editor" of Pāṇini.

* Patanjali frequently, therefore, makes use of the expression, "Pāṇini *sees*," when an ordinary author is quoted by him as "saying" or the like; e.g. p. 145 (in Dr. Ballantyne's edition): **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यो नाकारकस्तातो कोपो भवतीति**; or p. 246, **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यो न खञ्जनस्य युवो भवतीति**; p. 281, **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यो न विचकारं भवतीति**; p. 615, **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यः कानिषदादयो भवतीति**; p. 787, **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यस्यैकदेशभूतं तद्वैच नुवृत्त इति** etc.; but p. 658, **यस्मिन्ति स्वाचार्यः** (viz. Kātyāyana, in his *Vārtikas* to VI. 4, 104). **चिबो बुद्धिं तस्यैवार्थस्य संचातकामात्रस्य** **यस्मात्तस्योपस्य चासिद्धस्तादिति** etc.—For the same reason, when Kaiyaṇa, for instance, speaks of "the author of the Sūtras," viz. Pāṇini, Nāgajibhaṭṭa explains this

of leaving this important personage in the chaos which envelopes the historical existence of all ancient Hindu celebrities, it is better to acknowledge this necessity than attach faith to a date devoid of real substance and resting on no trustworthy testimony. For, in doing so, we may feel induced to direct our efforts towards an investigation more likely to lead to a solid result, — I mean the investigation of the *internal evidence* afforded by the ancient literature—as to the position of Pāṇini relatively to the works which are its chief representatives. If we could succeed in establishing this position, or, at least, in determining the critical means by which this end could be obtained, future research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature would have, at least, some ground to build upon, as well as a test by

expression with "Śiṣe," who revealed to Pāṇini the first fourteen Sūtras : e.g. p. 86, **सुबकारो महेष्टः । विदुषो वा :** or when Kaiyaṭa calls Pāṇini, Āchārya, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says (p. 120) **विदो विदुषो वाचाचार्यः ;** or p. 197, **वाचार्यः त्रिवः .** Of the first fourteen, or the Śivasūtras, Nāgajibhaṭṭa says that they existed from eternity, while Pāṇini made the rest : (p. 763 ed. Ballantyne) **तेषामवादिषादीनां पारिनिष्ठतत्वात्** etc.

which to recognise the place that may be allotted to many important works within the structure raised.

In making an attempt in this direction, we feel our immediate interest naturally engaged by the question whether Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārttikas), were in reality contemporaries or not, whatever be the age at which they lived. As a substantial record of these Vārttikas is met with in no other work than the "Great Commentary" of Patanjali, it will first be necessary for us to examine the literature embodied or alluded to, in the Mahābhāshya, so far as it bears on this inquiry, in order to ascertain what portion of this literature is anterior to Kātyāyana, and what portion belongs to his own authorship. We may consult for this purpose, Kaiyaṭa, the principal commentator on Patanjali ; but we need not descend to the recent period of the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the commentaries of Nāgēśa, Purushottama, or other Vṛttis and Tīkās, for all these works are at too great a distance from the period of Patanjali to assist us in the solution of our problem.

Of the grammatical writers named by the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, we pass over those which are quoted by Pāṇini himself, as by his testimony we are enabled at once to assign to them an existence prior to his Grammar.⁷⁷ We may pass over, too, those authorities to whom Patanjali adverts when he speaks of a "Śūtra of the former" grammarians⁷⁸; for such an expression on his part invariably refers to Pāṇini's Śūtras; and the substance of the opinions or rules of these "former" grammarians must equally, therefore, have preceded Pāṇini's work, and, consequently, the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

The first category of writings deserving our notice here will

⁷⁷ These authors are Āpīśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chākravarmanya, Bhāra-dvāja, Śākaśāyana, Śākaṭya, Senaka, Sphoṭīyana, and those designated by the collective appellation of eastern and northern grammarians. These names have been correctly mentioned by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. iii—v.

⁷⁸ Kaiyaṭa calls them *पूर्ववर्तिनः*; or the "former teachers" *e.g.* in his comment on the third Śivasūtra; on I. 1, 4; V. 2, 39; VI. 1, 6, etc. The word *पूर्ववर्तिनः* which in the sense given is a Tatpurusha, the former part of which is to be understood in the sense of a genitive, occurs *e.g.* in the Bhāṣya to VII. 1, 18; compare also note 46.—And the

therefore be those Vārtikas and grammatical dicta which are quoted by Patanjali in relation to Kātyāyana's own Vārtikas. As authors of such writings we meet, for instance, with the grammarians of the school of the *Bhāradwājīyas* and *Saunāgās*, with *Kunaravādava*, *Vāḍava*, who is perhaps the same as this grammarian, with *Sauryabhagavat*, with *Kaṣi*, who is spoken of by Kaiyaṭa as a predecessor of Patanjali, and an indefinite number of grammarians who are introduced to us under the general designation of "some" or "others."⁷⁹ Whether the latter term com-

authorities quoted by Patanjali, under the name of *आचार्यः*, are probably also meant as "older grammarians" *e.g.* in his gloss on the fifth Śivasūtra, on I. 1, 1 and 2, 18, etc.

⁷⁹ The *Bhāradwājīyas* are quoted several times in the Bhāṣya; and in the Calc. ed. four times, viz. III. 1, 89, v. 1; IV. 1, 79, v. 1; VI. 4, 47, v. 1, and 155, v. 1.—The *Saunāgās* are mentioned there to II. 2, 18, v. 1—4; VI. 3, 44, v. 1; and VII. 2, 17; the latter quotation, however, does not occur in the Bhāṣya.—*Kṣaparevādava* is mentioned in the Bhāṣya to VII. 3, 1, v. 6; *Vāḍava* and *Sauryabhagavat* to VIII. 2, 106, v. 3; *Kaṣi* in Kaiyaṭa's gloss on I. 1, 75, where he says that Patanjali follows, in the words referred to, the opinion of *Kaṣi* (Kaiyaṭa: *कुषिना प्राचक्ष्यमाणोपदिष्टोऽस्मिन्*).... *माधवारसु कुषिदोषनिश्चितः*.) Some of these quotations are given by Dr. Boehtlingk, vol. II. pp. iv. li. The phrase "*अपर आह*" is of frequent occurrence in

prise the grammarians just named, or other authorities, we can not infer from the words of Patanjali; probably, however, we are justified in deciding for the latter alternative, since Patanjali is a writer who chooses his words deliberately, and would scarcely have quoted his authority at one time by name, and at another by a general term which does not imply that great respect entertained for a high authority. But, whatever view we take of the matter,—setting aside those grammarians quoted by Patanjali, who will require some additional remark before we can establish their relation to Kātyāyana—we may see that all that are named must have lived before Patanjali, and after

the Bhāṣya, e.g. to the second Śivasūtra, to I. 1, 10; 2, 50, 51; II. 2, 24; 3, 66; III. 1, 27, 112, 123; 2, 109, 123, etc.; or कश्चिदीयाकरणे साह e.g. II. 4, 56; अन्ये धिया-करकाः e.g. I. 1, 27; केचित् e.g., VIII. 2, 80 (केचित् एके); अपरे e.g. I. 1, 1 and 2; III. 2, 123; and four sets of grammarians are contrasted by Patanjali in his comment on III. 2, 115: कथंजातीयकं पुनः परोचं नाम । केचित्सावदाहुः । वर्ष-व्रतवृत्तं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । वर्षसहस्रवृत्तं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । कुडाक-टाकारितं परोचमिति । अपर आहुः । द्वाहवृत्तं त्रहवृत्तं वेति .

Kātyāyana, since all their Vārttikas or remarks, recorded by Patanjali are criticisms on, and emendations of, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.¹⁰⁰ Of Patanjali's *Ishtis* or “desiderata” which

¹⁰⁰ A few instances will bear out this conclusion. Kātyāyana's third Vārttika to II. 2, 18 runs thus: **खिचं तु क्वास्त्वितुर्वैतिवचनात्**; and his fourth: **प्रादयः क्षाये** (omitted in the Calc. ed.). After having explained both, Patanjali adds: **एतदेव च सीनानिविख-रतरकेष पठितम्** and quotes the four Vārttikas of the Saunāgyas as given in the Calc. edition; Kaiyyāta is even more explicit on this occasion, for he says: **एतदेवेति । कात्या-यनानिप्रायेणैव प्रदर्शयितुं सीनानिवृत्तिवक्रेण पठितमित्यर्थः**. — The Vārttika of Kātyāyana to I. 1, 20 reads: **सुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शिदर्थम्**; but, says Patanjali, the Bhāradwājīyas read it otherwise: **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । सुसंज्ञायां प्रकृतियहं शि-द्विहतार्थम्**, which last compound contains an important improvement on the rule of Kātyāyana. — The latter enlarges Pāṇini's rule III. 1, 89, by this Vārttika: **यक्षिबोः प्रतिषेधे हेतुमक्षिबन्निष्ठासुपसंज्ञावत्**; but, says Patanjali after his explanation of it, **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति । यक्षिबोः प्रतिषेधे क्षिबन्विचिबन्निष्ठासामान्येपदाकर्मका-सामुपसंज्ञावत्** which version of the Bhāradwājīyas is a distinct criticism on Kātyā-ayana. — His two Vārttikas on VI. 4, 153 are the following: **खाविष्टव्यमातिपदिकस्य and पुंवङ्गावरमावटिकोपचकादिपरायम्**, but the Bhāradwājīyas improved them in this way: (Patanjali: **भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति 1) खाविष्टव्यमातिपदिकस्य पुंवङ्गावरमावटि-कोपचकादिपरप्रादिविचयतीकुक्षिबन्त्यर्थम्**. The same Bhāradwājīyas have criti- cised Pāṇini also, independently of Kātyāyana, for Patanjali mentions at the Sūtra

are his own additions to Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, I need not

VI. 4, 47: **अस्मिन्नेतदर्थो रम्यतरस्त्वाम्**, their Vārttika: **अस्मिन्नेतदर्थो रम्यतरस्त्वाम्**. The mere comparison of their Vārttikas and the passages quoted, will clearly show that these grammarians not only lived after Pāṇini, but also after Kātyāyana; and that they were engaged on the same task which was the object of Kātyāyana, viz., that of criticising Pāṇini. Dr. Boehtlingk, however, (vol. II. p. iv.)—when speaking of the Vārttikas of the Bhāradwāḥyas and one Vārttika of the Āpīśalas, which improves Pāṇini's Sūtra VII. 3, 95, **गुरुश्रुत्यस्यः सार्वधातुके कृन्दसि** (quoted by the Kāśikā, not by Patanjali),—draws from them the twofold conclusion, “first, that the grammatical terminology of both predecessors of our grammarian (Pāṇini) was the same, partly at least (*dans die grammatische Terminologie bei den beiden Vorgängern unserer Grammatikers, zum Theil vereinigt, dieselbe gezeichnet*), and then, that their original works, in time, received similar emendations and additions as the grammar of Pāṇini.” I know not by what logical process either of these conclusions could be extracted from these Vārttikas. The passages quoted are obvious criticisms on Pāṇini and Kātyāyana,—and so are the other Vārttikas of the Bhāradwāḥyas named by Patanjali. There is not the slightest evidence afforded by these Vārttikas that they are in any connecting whatever with works of Bhāradwāḥya and Āpīśali, and any *reasoning* concerning the latter becomes therefore without foundation. Or do we find that in India all pupils and descendants are compelled to confine their writings or remarks to the

speak, since they are an essential portion of his own Great Commentary.¹⁰¹

works of their teachers and ancestors? and will their criticisms on these latter works turn out, by some marvellous process, to fit exactly the productions of other authors also?

¹⁰¹ It will probably be thought desirable that an editor should at least understand the title-page of the work which he is committing to the press, even when editing is merely tantamount to reprinting the labours of others, faults and all; but I fear that this much cannot be said of Dr. Boehtlingk's edition of Pāṇini; for, in translating the title-page of the Calcutta edition, he renders **रहि** “*kārikā*” and justifies this version in the following note (vol. II. p. xxxvii): “I take **परिभाषेष्टिभिः** as a *dvandwa*, and **रहि** as synonymous with *kārikā*, because I should not like to miss these (the *Kārikās*) on the title.” Thus, because the Calcutta Pandits, rightly or wrongly, did not say on the title-page of their edition that their compilation will comprise the *Kārikās*, but merely stated that it will give Vārttikas, Gāṇas, Paribhāshās and Ishṭis, Dr. Boehtlingk *reasons*, that “since he does not like the omission of the *Kārikās*,” *Ishṭi* is the same as *Kārikā*. There is, indeed, nothing strange in this *reasoning* of Dr. Boehtlingk; we have seen already some specimens of it, and if any one would take upon himself the ungrateful task of reviewing the second volume which he has annexed to his “*edition*” of Pāṇini, he would have to add a good many more of the same quality. But if Dr. Boehtlingk had chosen to consult, by letter or otherwise, the editors of his edition of Pāṇini, they would in all probability have told him that *ishṭi* means a “desideratum,” and that *ishṭis*, emphatically

Another category of literary compositions, which are either entirely or partly embodied in the Mahābhāṣya, are the *Kārikās*.¹⁰² To assign these verses to one author, would be as

so called, and not qualified otherwise (as *Ishtis* of the *Kāśikā*, etc.), designate the *Vārttikas* of *Patanjali*. They might, too, have referred him to the *Padachandrikāṭṭhi*, which in the introduction plainly says: इष्टयो माथकारख; or to Nāgajñāṭṭha, who when referring to the word इष्टि applied by Kaiyaṣa to the *Vārttika* of Patanjali to I. 1, 1, omitted in the edition) छन्दोवत्सुचाणि भवन्ति इष्टिरिति। तथा च माथकारीयातिदेशात्सूत्रेषु छन्दःकार्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भावः. But, for aught I know, they might have simply requested him to read their own edition, before sending it to the printer, since they have themselves written the word माथकारिष्टिः, for instance, after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 9, or माथेष्टिः after a *Vārttika* to I. 1, 68; or the words इष्टिमाथकृतः after a *Vārttika* to II. 2, 28; and it is clear enough that in none of these instances can इष्टि be synonymous with कारिका.

¹⁰² It is almost superfluous to state that I merely speak of the *Kārikās* which are recorded by Patanjali. Those belonging to Bhartṛihari, who wrote a gloss on Patanjali (comp. e.g. *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*: भर्तृहरिवीक्ष्यपदीयकतो महाभाषयाख्या ता च, and my subsequent observations on the *Vākyapadīya*), as well as the *Kārikās* met with exclusively in the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, can have no bearing on the present investigation.

erroneous as to speak of one author of the *Vārttikas*.¹⁰³ For, even the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini enables us to see, at first

¹⁰³ These assertions have nevertheless been made by Dr Boehtlingk, vol. II. p. xiv., where he states that "between Pāṇini and Anura-Sinha there are still four grammarians: Kātyāyana, the author of the *Paribhāṣhās*, the author of the *Kārikās*, and Patanjali;" and p. xviii. xix., where he states that each couple of these grammarians may be separated from one another by a space of fifty years, he repeats, "as we have observed above (p. xiv), there are between Patanjali and Pāṇini still three grammarians known to us, who made contributions to the grammar of Pāṇini." On page xlix, it is true, he says, "no doubt the *Kārikās* do not all belong to the same author, since the same subject is treated sometimes in two different *Kārikās* in a perfectly different manner;" but as he observed before that the *Kārikās* are "scattered in various grammars (*sic*), viz. in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Kāśikā*, the *Padamanjarī* and the *Kaumudī*," and as two quotations which he adds in corroboration of his statement, viz. VI. 3, 109, and VII. 2, 10, have reference to the *Kāśikā* and *Siddhānta-kaumudī* only, we should be in fairness bound to conclude that, in his opinion, it was the literary period after Patanjali which produced this variety of authors of the *Kārikās*. Yet when he presents us with a third quotation, viz. "Calc. ed. p. 274," which clearly points to the fact that there were different authors of *Kārikās* at or before Patanjali's time, it would be curious to learn how he reconciles this latter quotation with his previous statements at pages xiv and xix, according to which there is but one author of the *Kārikās* between Pāṇini and

śigṛhī, in four instances, that they cannot be the work of the same author; and, besides these, two other instances of the same kind may be found in the "Great Commentary."¹⁰⁴ But, to define the relation of these verses to Kātyāyana, it will not be sufficient simply to state that some of them embody the rules of Kātyāyana, while others deviate from them, and others again enlarge and criticise the Vārttikas :¹⁰⁵ it will be necessary to describe the

Patanjali, and a personage, too, who lived 50 years after the author of the Paribhāṣās and 50 years before Patanjali ! Compare also the following note.

¹⁰⁴ The *Kārikās* not met with in the *Bhāṣhya* are, usually, correctly marked in the Calcutta edition with the name of the work whence they have been taken; those not marked, are therefore, nearly always, recognizable in this edition as belonging to the *Mahābhāṣhya*. That such *Kārikās* of the latter kind, to the same *Sūtra* of *Pāṇini*, belong to different authors, is indicated in the *Calc. ed.* at I. 4. 51; III. 2. 123 (*p. 271*); IV. 1. 44 and 63. From the *Bhāṣhya* we learn it, *at first sight*, besides, in the two instances, I. 50,—where the words *गोष्ठा रसं* etc. are preceded by *अपर आह*—and VIII. 2. 58, where the latter words precede the *Kārikā वेष्टु* etc. Compare the notes 107, 108, 111.

¹⁰⁸ Three striking instances of the latter kind are the *Kárikás* to IV. 2, 60; VIII. 1, 69; and III. 2, 118. The first occurs at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the

characteristic features of these Kárlás such as we find them in Patanjali's work.

An external, but very important mark, is afforded by the circumstance that one portion of the *Kárikás* is left by Patanjali entirely without comment, while he comments on another portion in the same manner as he does on the *Várttikas*; and we may add, too, that there are a few *Várttikas* which are not altogether without a gloss, but the gloss on which is so scanty

Vārtikas of this Sūtra, is without comment, and contains, for the greater part, new matter, which is given in the shape of Vārtikas in the Siddhānta-kaumudī. It is omitted in the Calc. ed. and runs thus : अनुपूर्वत्वमपि सर्वसादृश्याच्च । एक्यदीप्तपदाच्छतष्टः विकल्पः । The Kārīkā to VIII. 1, 69 embodies the Vārtikas 1, 2, 3 and the same Sūtra and Vārtika 2 to VIII. 1, 67, but in the latter Kātyāyana says असोपचयश्च, and the Kārīkā enlarges this rule to यकारलोपो रतिङि (Nágajibhāṣya : मसोपयेति यातिकोऽतो मसोपचयकुलेनेष्टः) । The Kārīkā to III. 2, 118 is thus introduced by Patanjali : किं वातः सादि० । न स गुराद्यतन इति (second Vārtika) dueca by Kaiyaṇa : किं वातः सादि०; and by Kaiyaṇa : एकतरास्विनात्तिक्के क्षपुराद्यक्षत्रुताया कात्यायेनेह सादि०; and by Kaiyaṇa : तत्र पूर्वस्विन्यरास्विना विशेषमध्यन्यूच्छति । इतरो यातिर्ननुषक्तबलिनान्नयसीची । तत्र पूर्वस्विन्यरास्विना विशेषमध्यन्यूच्छति । सादि० ।

Being here merely concerned with the question of the relation of these Kárikás to Kátyáyana, we should not feel under the necessity of examining the contents of the six verses just mentioned, even if they differed in character from the rest—which is not the case,—for the statements alleged enable us, as it is, to conclude that they are *later* than his Várttikas. Still, as the remaining portion of these uncommented Kárikás does not admit of a similar inference without an inquiry into the evidence which they yield, it will be necessary to observe that they fall into two distinct divisions.

One class of them merely records the substance of the preceding Várttikas. These, for the most part, stand at the end of Patanjali's commentary on the Súra to which they belong; but etc.—Kaiyaṇa: सोऽङ्गान्तिककारः संदिग्धानसंदिग्धांश्च आत्मिनिरासाद्य पर्यवर्तयत्.—Kaiyaṇa on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 22: वास्तिककारोऽस्मिन् प्रयोजनेषु प्राक्का-
तेषु सोऽङ्गान्तिककारोऽस्मिन् प्रयोजनार्थेन:—Nāgajibhatta: वास्तिककारः आत्मनिः।
सोऽङ्गान्तिककारस्त्वय एवेति श्रवः. See also page 92.

some of them are also met with in the midst of the discussion of the Bháshya, but only when they comprise the contents of a portion, not of the whole, of the Várttikas to the Súra of Páṇini.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Such uncommented Kárikás standing at the end of the commentary occur at the Sútras II. 1. 10; 4. 85 (Kár. 2. 3).—III. 1. 79; 2. 3.—V. 2. 48; 3. 55 (Kár. 3. 5).—VI. 1. 77 (Kár. 2). 87.—VII. 1. 73 (Kár. 2).—VIII. 2. 62. 108; 3. 43.—*In the middle* of the discussion they occur at the Sútras II. 1. 60, before the fourth Várttika, and summing up the Várttikas 1, 2, 3; II. 4, 88 (Kár. I, being a summary of the Várttikas preceding the third Várttika in the Calc. ed.).—The summary character of these Kárikás is sometimes expressly adverted to by the commentators. Thus at II. 1. 60, Kaiyaṇa observes: अथवा एवमेषां नञा वेदिति पूर्व एवार्थं आर्षेवा संयुजति:; II. 4, 85 (Kár. 1), एव एवार्थं (of what precedes) आर्षेवा दृष्टि:; II. 4, 85 (Kár. 2. 3), पूर्वोक्त एवार्थः सोऽङ्गान्तिककारोऽस्मिन् प्रयोजनार्थेन: etc. etc. I may here observe that the word इति, which is usually added by authors after quotations they make from other authors, is scarcely ever met with after the last word of these or any other Kárikás. There is the following instance which clearly proves that no inference can be drawn from the presence or absence of this word इति after the Kárikás; viz. the Káriká to III. 1, 7 is identical with the first Káriká to V. 2, 94; इति occurs after the former, not after the latter. Only one of the Kárikás introduced by अपर काङ्क्षः—a 'clear

The second class has not the character of summaries of the Vārtikas. It is an *essential part of the discussion of the Bhāṣya itself*, now introducing the point at issue with some general remark, then

instance of a quotation—is followed by this word, viz. : III. 2, 123 (Kār. 1); none of the uncommented Kārikās except the one mentioned (III. 1, 7) has this word after it; and among the Kārikās with comment, it occurs only at III. 2, 13A. It is not necessary, on the present occasion, to make any further statement concerning the use of *हति* in Patanjali's commentary; but compare also note 130.—The Calcutta editors, who, unfortunately, have considered themselves justified in giving us "Extracts" from the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, do not enable their readers fully to recognize the summary character of these Kārikās; and, in placing the Kārikās either at the end or at the beginning, they have, in this class of the Kārikās, and still more so in the following classes, entirely destroyed all possibility of perceiving how these Kārikās are sometimes summaries of a portion only of Vārtikas, sometimes the summary of Patanjali's discussion, and sometimes an essential portion of his arguments. When, in the MSS. of the Bhāṣya, to judge from the one at my command, a Kārikā, which occurs in the middle of the discussion, is sometimes—not always,—repeated at the end, such a device on the part of Patanjali, or, as it seems more probable, on the part of the copyists, is intelligible, and deserves approval, as it is calculated to draw our attention to the occurrence, in the middle of the discussion, of such a verse, which usually contains important information. But when such a verse is always taken from its original and proper place, and always

connecting or strengthening the links of the debate by an important definition or a new argument, then again summing up the substance of the discussion itself, and throwing, as it were, some additional light on it:¹¹⁰

put either at the beginning or at the end, for no other reason than that it is a verse, such a method, in a book, moreover, of that equivocal class which gives dribbled extracts of an important literature, makes the same impression, on my mind at all events, as if an editor of a garbled Shakspeare were to present us first with all the prosaic and then with all the poetical parts of the play, *or vice versa*.

¹¹⁰ Uncommented verses of this kind are met with in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the discussion on IV. 1, 44 (वोतो मुञ्च० । मुञ्चवचनदिलुच्यते । वो मुञ्चो नाम । सत्वे निविशते etc., when he contrasts the following Kārikā—अपर आह । उपैल० —with the preceding words); IV. 1, 63 (आतेरली० । आतेरिलुच्यते वा अतिर्नाम । आकृतियह००, which words are contrasted with the Kārikā of "another" अपरे आह । प्रादुर्भाव००); IV. 1, 161 (समोर्षोतावच० । अयत्ने कुसिति etc.); V. 1, 115 (तेन गुणं । एदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमवायुक्तम् । चक्षुःश्रोत्रादिसमर्थे किंचा चेत्ता सवतीलुच्यते । अथ च श्रुतीवासमर्थे नाम किंचा आत । श्रुतदयुक्तं वर्तते । सर्व एव ते शब्दा मुञ्चसुदा-चेतु वर्तते आह । अयिषो विद्वः मुह हति । तपः श्रुत००); VI. 2, 199 (परादि-अह-वि अहम् । अहवमिदमुच्यते । परादिच परावच००); VII. 4, 46, 48-2 (तो दह० ।

A comparison of these two classes of *uncommented* Kárikás shows, therefore, that while the former might have been omitted in the Great Commentary, without any detriment to the contents of this work, the latter was indispensable to it. We may look upon the summary Kárikás as memorial verses, adapted for forming a separate collection for the convenience of teachers and pupils; but

वार्तिकविशेष इति & etc.)—The foregoing quotations, which begin with the Sūtra itself, will show the introductory character of these Kárikás.—*In the middle of the discussion* of the Bhāshya we find such Kárikás at I. 1, 0 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 201, 202, towards the end of the Introduction); I. 1, 20 (preceding the fourth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.); I. 1, 38 (the first Káriká of the Calc. ed.; it stands after the Vārtikas of this ed., and is followed by a Káriká of the third category—see note 106,—which is omitted in the Calc. ed.); I. 2, 64 (preceding the eighteenth Vārtika of the ed.); III. 1, 22 (after the Vārtika of the ed., but before other Vārtikas omitted there); V. 3, 55 (Kár. I. 2; preceding the ninth Vārtika of the Calc. ed.; Patanjali speaks in the first person); VI. 4, 114 (before the third Vārtika of the ed.); VIII. 2, 80 (before the second Vārtika of the ed.)—Uncommented Kárikás occur *at the end of the discussion* of the Bhāshya at I. 1, 14, 38 (the last Káriká of the ed.; the Calc. editors add that this Káriká is originally a Vaidik passage referring to ३३). Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa have no remark to this effect; but even if the editors be right, they ought to have proved first that the

the independent existence of the commentatorial Kárikás is quite unintelligible, and would be altogether purposeless. In short, though there might be a doubt whether Patanjali, or some other grammarian, poetically inclined, had versified the Vārtikas, it seems impossible to assume that the second class of those Kárikás was composed by any one but Patanjali. It is very probable, however, that the author of the Mahābhāshya was not the author of the summary or memorial Kárikás. For since there *was* an “author of versified Kárikás,” as we learn from Kaiyyaṭa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa, and as we shall see that a considerable number of the commented Kárikás do not belong to his authorship, the literary activity of this personage would become restricted to,

“Vaidik” passage in question—a very vague definition—is older than Patanjali’s Bhāshya, and not taken from it); on I. 1, 70; 4, 51 (Kár. 5—7); II. 4, 36; III. 1, 7 (which occurs once more in the middle of the discussion on V. 2, 94 as Kár. 1); III. 1, 122, 127; 3, 1. Kár. 3 (see note 113). 156 (= VII. 4, 41); 4, 79; IV. 2, 9, 60 (omitted in the Calc. ed.; see note 105, १०५); V. 3, 55 (Kár. 3—5); VI. 1, 1; VII. 1, 18; 4, 92 (where Patanjali speaks in the first person); VIII. 1, 70; 2, 59.

and his fame would have been founded on, less than half-a-dozen lines, if we did not ascribe to him more Kárikás than those expressly attributed to him by these commentators, or if we fathered these summary Kárikás on Patanjali. Whether the “other” mentioned in the first six instances be the same, or not, as the “author of the versified Kárikás,” I have no means of deciding; but, at all events, it becomes certain, after this brief explanation, that *all the uncommented Kárikás are later than the Várttikas of Kátyáyana.*

The Kárikás *commented upon* by Patanjali are in one respect similar to the foregoing class, but in another wholly different from it. As regards an external mark, we again meet here with “another,” who has twice composed a Káriká which is contrasted by Patanjali with a preceding Várttika, and twice a Káriká which he contrasts with a preceding Káriká, the authorship of which is left without a remark.¹¹¹ Another such Káriká, too, is distinctly

¹¹¹ III. 1, 112, Patanjali says, अपर चाह । संज्ञायां पुंसि etc., when he contrasts the

ascribed by Kaiyyata to the “author of the versified Kárikás.”¹¹² And when we examine the contents of this second class of Kárikás, we again find many which form an essential part of the arguments in the discussion of Patanjali.¹¹³ Here, however, the analogy stops; for the remainder have in no way the nature of summaries; they are to all intents and purposes identical in character with the Várttikas of Kátyáyana; and even Patanjali’s commentary

Káriká with the preceding Várttika; III. 2, 109, अपर चाह । नोवेचिवात् etc. contrasted with preceding Várttikas omitted in the Calc. ed.; I. 2, 50 (Kár. 2), अपर चाह । नोवात्सं etc. contrasted with the preceding Káriká; I. 4, 51, अपर चाह । प्रधावकर्मसाक्षिदे etc. (commented on up to खवयो विदुः Kár. 1-4) contrasted with the preceding Káriká.

¹¹² VI. 4. 22. Compare note 108.

¹¹³ Such Kárikás are met with at or near the beginning of the Bháshya on I. 4, 51 (the two first Kár. of the Calc. ed.); III. 3. 1. (Kár. 1. 2.; the last Káriká is left without comment); IV. 1, 3. 54. 78. (the first four Kárikás stand at the beginning, before the first Várttika; the following nine after the second Várttika of the Calcutta edition, which, in the Bháshya, however, is the fourth); 92. 165; V. 2, 45; VI. 1, 103. In the middle of the discussion on I. 1, 57; IV. 1, 93; V. 1, 19; 2, 94, Kár. 2 (before the seventh Várttika of the Calc. ed.); VII. 4, 46 (Kár. 1).

on them follows the same method that he observes in his comment on the Vārttikas.¹¹⁴

This method is analogous to that which has become familiar through the classical commentaries of Śaṅkara on the Upanishads, of Medhātithi and Kullūka on Manu, of Śāyana on the Vedas, of Vijnāneswara on Yājñavalkya, and so on. Its character chiefly consists in establishing, usually by repetition, the correct reading of the

text, in explaining every important or doubtful word, in showing the connection of the principal parts of the sentence, and in adding such observations as may be required for a better understanding of the author. Patanjali even excels, in the latter respect, the commentaries instanced, for he frequently attaches his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, often in support of the views of the latter, but not seldom, too, in order to refute his criticisms and to defend Pāṇini; while, again, at other times, he completes the statement of one of them by his own additional rules.

Now this method Patanjali strictly follows in his comment on the Kārikās I am alluding to. As they nearly always constitute a whole verse, and as such a verse is generally too complicated an assemblage of words to be thoroughly intelligible without being interrupted by some explanatory remark, it seldom happens that the comment of Patanjali does not begin till he has given the whole verse in its uninterrupted order. Nor is it often that so many words of the Kārikā as constitute half a verse remain together in the Bhāṣya, though it is obvious that half a verse is

¹¹⁴ Kārikās of this description occur in the Bhāṣya at or near the beginning of the commentary on I. 1, 19; 2, 9, 17, 18, 50 (Kār. 1); III. 2, 115; IV. 1, 10 (the Vārttika of the Calc. ed. on this Sūtra is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya); 3, 60, 84, 134; V. 3, 83; VI. 1, 77 (Kār. 1 a. b.). 158; 2, 1; 3, 46; 4, 3, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21, 40, 73 (Kār. 1). 96; 2, 107; 3, 3 (Kār. 1). 86; VIII. 1, 69 (?); 2, 25, 55, 58 (Kār. 1. 2); 3, 88; 4, 68.—In the middle, at I. 2, 51; 4, 21 (= HL. 3, 161); III. 2, 57, 139; IV. 1, 18, 32 (the second Vārttika of the Calc. ed. is no Vārttika but Bhāṣya on the last part of the Kārikā); 2, 8 (the second Vārttika of the Calc. ed. is misedited; it runs thus: इहे सामनि जाते सायच्छिद्धिं यो विधीयते). 45; V. 2, 39; VI. 4, 12, 62, 74; VII. 1, 9; 2, 102; 3, 3 (Kār. 2 and 3).—Towards the end, at IV. 1, 120.—In several of these instances there are no other Vārttikas to the Sūtra besides the Kārikā, which is then the subject of the whole commentary, e.g. at IV. 3, 60, 84; VI. 4, 46, 128; VII. 1, 21; 3, 88.

more likely to afford undivided matter for comment than a whole one. The rule, therefore, is, that small portions of the Káriká, for the most part of the extent of an ordinary Várttika, are, like so many Várttikas, separately commented upon by Patanjali, and that in all such instances we have to gather the scattered parts of the Káriká from amongst the commentatorial interruptions of Patanjali, in order to see that, put together, they form a verse,—a Śloka, an Indravajra, a Dodhaka, an Áryá, or the like.¹¹⁵ This trouble we are frequently saved, either by the author of the Great Com-

¹¹⁵ The text of the *whole* verse of Kárikás of this class is given before the comment of Patanjali, at I. 2. 51 ; V. 2. 94. Kár. 2 ; VI. 4. 46 ; VIII. 4. 68. There occur *half* verses of the Kárikás, without commentatorial interruptions, e.g. at I. 4. 21 (= III. 3. 161). 51 ; III. 2. 57. 115 ; IV. 1. 3. 10. 32. 93. 165 ; 2. 8. 45 ; V. 2. 39 ; VI. 4. 3. 12. 62. 128 ; VII. 1. 9. 96 ; 2. 102. 107 ; 3. 3. 86.—Both modes are combined at VIII. 3. 45 (a Kár. of the *third category*) where Patanjali first comments on the text of the first Káriká, which is given without any interruption ; then on the first half of the second Káriká ; then on the second half of the second and the first half of the third Káriká, both given together ; then on the second half of the third ; and lastly, on the first half of the fourth Káriká. The comment on the second half of the fourth Káriká follows first after the words सिद्धं च

mentary himself, or by the attentive copyists of his work, as he or they usually repeat, at the end of the gloss on the Várttikas,

ते समाधि, and then after the words प्रतिविचार्यच यतो ह्यस्.—The manner in which the great majority of these Kárikás is interrupted in the Mahābhāṣya may be guessed from a very few instances which have escaped the garbling process of the Calcutta editors ; from IV. 1. 120, where the four Várttikas are the literal text of the Káriká ; and from V. 3. 83, where the first five Várttikas constitute the Káriká. The injudiciousness of giving these Kárikás on all other occasions, without indicating the manner in which they have arisen from a number of short Várttikas, requires no remark after the foregoing explanation ; but this proceeding becomes still more subject to censure, when some portions of the Káriká are given as Várttikas and others are omitted, or ascribed to other works than the Bhāṣya, while the Káriká, nevertheless, is printed as belonging to the latter work. For it becomes evident that, in all such cases, there was not even a principle which guided the so-called selection or quotation of the works whence the Várttikas are taken. Thus at IV. 1. 32 the Calcutta edition gives the Káriká, but only the last portion of it as Várttika—mistaking, moreover, the words of the commentary वा ह्यस्ति मुक्तव्यः for the Káriká-Várttika, which runs thus : वा ह्यस्ति नुगमेदित्.—A similar mis-edition of the second Várttika to IV. 2. 8, and the attributing to the Kāśikā of the fifth Várttika, make it impossible to see that the Várttikas 2—5 form, in the Mahābhāṣya, the text of the printed Káriká.—In ascribing the third and the fifth Várttika of V. 3. 83 to the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the

the whole Káriká in its metrical integrity. Sometimes, however, they omitted to do this; and if I may judge from the copy of the Mahábháshya in the possession of the Library of the Home Government for India, the Calcutta Pandits, who published an edition of Páṇini, have, in some instances, supplied the apparent defect of this manuscript.¹¹⁶

editors obscure the origin of the Káriká to this Sūtra, which repeats the text of the first five Várttikas, such as they occur in the Bháshya.—At VIII. 2, 25 the same edition does not allow us to perceive more than the first stop of the first Káriká, while it gives the three Kárikás in full.—I may mention, too, that there is no such Káriká in the Bháshya as that printed at VI. 4, 19. It certainly was very tempting to roll up into a Śloka the words of Patanjali, तुकप्रसजित, which explain the second Várttika together with the three other Várttikas which belong to Kátyáyana; but there is no evidence to show that Patanjali made this verse; nor does it occur in the Káriká or the Siddhánta-kaumudī.—For one Káriká Patanjali seems, indeed, to be himself answerable, for the Várttikas to VIII. 1, 69 merely contain the material for the first fourth and the second half of the Káriká, which occurs at the end of his Bháshya on this Sūtra. It is possible, however, under the circumstances, that this Káriká may be one of the summary class. See note 105.

¹¹⁶ Dr. Ballantyne's edition of the first Páda of the first Adhyáya of the Mahá-

The foregoing remarks sufficiently express my views on these commented Kárikás. Where the authorship of "another," or of the Śloka-várttika-kára, is distinctly mentioned by Patanjali or Kaiyyāṭa, I see no reason to doubt that the Kárikás to which this remark applies are neither Patanjali's nor Kátyáyana's. When the Kárikás are part of the arguments of the Bháshya itself, it seems certain, as in the case of the analogous Kárikás without comment, that their author is Patanjali; but when they have entirely

bhāshya, and the MS. of the E. I. H., which have the four Várttikas to I. 1, 57, निवः परखादयो निवः । comm. । परखादो व्यवहृत्वा । comm. । व्यवहृत्यो वाचि । comm. । परिहृत्येन विवर्ति । comm. 1, do not repeat these words without interruptions in order to show their Káriká nature; and the same remark applies to the MS. with regard to the commented Kárikás I. 2, 51; 4, 21. 51; IV. 1, 3. 32. 78. 92. 93. 120. 165; 2, 45; 3, 60. 134; V. 1, 19; 2, 39. 45. 94 (Kár. 2); 3, 83; VI. 1, 158; 4, 46. 62. 74. 128; VII. 1, 96; 4, 46 (Kár. 1); VIII. 2, 25. 55. 58 (Kár. 1, 2); 3, 48; 4, 68. The repetition of some of these Káriká-Várttikas has no doubt been omitted, because the commentary of Patanjali allowed the whole verse or half a verse of this text to remain uninterrupted (see note 115). In the Calcutta edition all these Kárikás are given in their metrical integrity.

the character of Vārttikas—which will later be defined—they are undoubtedly the composition of Kātyāyana; and such, I hold, is the view of Kaiyaṣa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa also. For though it is no part of their task to specify the authorship of the Kārikās, except when such a remark is essential to their gloss, they, nevertheless, have done so occasionally; and when thus we find that they plainly ascribe some of these commented Kārikās either to the author of the Vārttikas or the author of the Great Commentary, as the case may be, we must be allowed to infer that they entertained a similar opinion on other Kārikās which would fall under either of the heads I have mentioned above.¹¹⁷ Nor need we hesitate at the idea of a

¹¹⁷ Thus, on the first four Kārikās to IV. 1, 78, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* observes: एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव च चार्त्तिककृतः—which words, moreover, plainly intimate that there exist Kārikās composed by Kātyāyana; or in the latter part of Kaiyaṣa's comment on the Kārikā to VI. 1, 103 we read: एवादिना विशिष्टमेव विदुष्वचक्षणे भाष्यकारेणाश्रितम्.—In his comment on the Kārikā to IV. 3, 60, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa*, in referring to the remark of Patanjali, मुञ्चपात्रे तत्त्वभाष्यामीयप्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः (which words explain the beginning of the second Kārikā) observes: भाष्ये तत्त्वभाष्यामिति चार्त्तिके आर्षत्वात्समाहः; and on a further remark of Kaiyaṣa: प्रकृतचार्त्तिकप्रत्यो-

poetical author of Vārttikas. Not only were whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse,¹¹⁸ but it is a common occurrence with scientific commentators in India, that they cannot resist the temptation of running into verse, even at the risk of endangering their prosaic task. We need only remember another celebrated author of Vārttikas, Kumārila, who writes alternately in Śloka and prose. It might seem more remarkable that Patanjali should write in verse and comment upon this himself; but *Mādhava* affords an analogous instance in his Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara; *Viśvanātha-Panchānana*

जनमाह. On the affix तवै in the second Kārikā to VI. 1, 158, *Nāgajibhaṭṭa* remarks: चार्त्तिके तवैयद्वयं सूचीपक्षचक्षुस्; on the first Kārikā to VI. 2, 1: इति विवलो ऽसिद्ध इति चार्त्तिकार्थः; on Kaiyaṣa to the first Kārikā to VI. 3, 46: चक्षुःप्रकृतिरिति चार्त्तिकस्यमवयवत्वं व्याचष्टे; on Kaiyaṣa to the second fourth of Kārikā 1. to VI. 4, 12: चार्त्तिके सुतीति, etc.; on a various reading in the second Kārikā to VII. 3, 86: चार्त्तिके ऽन्यत्रापि इति पाठे, etc.—In his gloss on the Kārikā to VIII. 4, 68, Kaiyaṣa says: तस्य विदुतोपदेशादन्वयापि विदुतोपदेशः स्वर्णवद्व्याचरे इति चार्त्तिककृता पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम्.

¹¹⁸ For instance, the Pāṇiniya-Śikshā and the Rik-Prātisākhya.

wrote a commentary in prose, the Siddhántamuktávali, on his metrical exposition of the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, the Bhāṣā-parichhedha; *Daivajñarāma* explained in prose his versified Muhūrtachintāmani; *Vardhamāna* did the same with his Ganaratnamahodadhi; and many more instances could be adduced to show that there is nothing striking, or even remarkable, in the assumption that Patanjali composed grammatical verses and commented on them in prose.¹¹⁹

After the foregoing observations, the authorship of those Kárikás, which, apparently, form a third category, can create no difficulty so far as Kátyáyana is concerned. They were neither written by him, nor before his time. The manner in which Patanjali comments on them, and their very contents, show that they cannot be assimilated to Kátyáyana's Kárikás, which, as I mentioned before, are dealt with by him in the same manner as the Várttikas in prose. There is either scarcely any comment on

¹¹⁹ I owe to the kindness of Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall an extract from his "*Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*," which mentions besides Viśvanátha-Pañchānana, eleven authors who wrote twelve works in verse and commented on them in prose. As this extract is, on other grounds, of considerable interest, I will, with Dr. Hall's permission, forestall the arrival in Europe of his important work, and here subjoin the substance of his communication. He names in it, besides the author of the Bhāṣā-parichhedha — 1. *Jivardja-Dikṣita*, who wrote the *Tarka-kārikā* (on the Vaiśeṣika) in verse, and a commentary on it in prose, the *Tarka-manjari*; 2. *Vidyāraṇyadeśharya*, the author of the *Vedāntādhikaraya-mālā* (in verse) and a prose exposition interspersed; 3. *Prakāśānanda* or *Anantānanda-kriṣṇa* (?), the author of the *Siddhántamuktāvali*; 4. *Paṇḍeya-Brahma-Prasāda*,

the author of the *Sachchidānandānubhava-pradīpikā*; 5. *Lakṣmedhara-Kavi*, who wrote the *Adwaita-makaraṇḍa*; 6. *Śaṅkareśhcharya*, to whom the *Ātmabodha* is ascribed, and likewise a comment on it, entitled *Ajñānabodhinī*; 7. *Śaṅkaraśaṇḍa*, the author of the *Ātmapurāṇa* and a comment on it, the *Ātmapurāṇa-dīpikā*; 8. *Appayya-Dikṣita*, the author of the *Brahmatarka-śaṅka* and the *Brahmatarkasāra-vivaraṇa*; 9. 10. *Vallabhācharya*, the author of the *Pushpīpravāhamaryāśābheda* and a *Vivaraṇa* on it, and likewise of the *Antahkaraprabodha* and a *Vivṛiti* on it; 11. *Gaṅgādharasarasvatī*, the author of the *Siddhāntasūktimanjarī* (an abridgement of the *Siddhāntaleśa*) and a *Prakāśa* of it; and 12. *Govindadeśhtrīa*, who wrote the *Ātharvaprāśāya* and a commentary on it.—All these works (except the first) treat on the *Vēdānta*; their text is in verse and their commentary in prose.

the Kárikás of this class, or his comment assumes more the nature of a general exposition, which is intended to work out the sense of the Káriká, but not to give, at the same time, a gloss, in the usual sense of this word.¹²⁰ In short, a comparison of these

¹²⁰ Thus the two half verses of a Káriká to I. 1, 38 (omitted in the Calc. ed.), are interrupted and accompanied by a brief remark, as will appear from the following quotation (ed. Ballantyne, p. 492): कृतवितानां सहस्रं तु कार्यं संस्वाविशेषं ह्यभिनिश्चिता ये (first half verse) । तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । एषा मा भूत् । एको दो बहुव हति । तस्मात्स्वरद्विषहं च कार्यं कृतवितानां सहस्रं च पाठे (second half verse) । पाठे-नेयमवयवज्ञा विद्यते शेषे न प्राप्नोति । परमोक्षेः परमवीथिरिति.—The Bháshya on the first two half verses of the Káriká to III. 1, 123 (which are left uninterrupted), merely consists of the words: निवृत्तौ विन्वीत पशुकासः; on the following portion, खादिकखाद्यगुर्वैः क्षप, of the instances: देवद्वयः । प्रकीयः । उन्नीयः । उच्छिद्यः ।; on शगुर्वैश्च चतौ विधिः, of the instances मर्यः । सूर्याश्वर्यः । खन्वः, and the like on the last half verse.—The comment on the Káriká to IV. 2, 13 runs thus: चपचा कुमारीं भवः कीमारः । बभेवं कीमारी भार्येति न सिध्यति पुंयोना-दभिधानं भविष्यति । कीमारश्च भार्यो कीमारी.—The whole Bháshya on the Kárikás to VI. 4, 120, is the following; on the first half verse: ह्यद्वयमिषोरपीति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रवीयवत् । पनेष००; and on the rest, which is given without any

Kárikás with those of the two other classes, must lead to the conclusion that, in reality, they are no separate class, but belong either to one or the other. They are partly Patanjali's own arguments expressed in verse and amplified in prose, or the composition of that "other" grammarian whom we have encountered before. There are, indeed, two of these Kárikás which are distinctly ascribed by

interruption: क्षमिन्लो त्वं विधिरिति.—The Káriká to VI. 4, 149, which also is given entire—up to तथा, which is preceded only by the word क्षमिषद्—is followed by these words: क्षान्तिये च दूरके सूर्या.—The Bháshya on the whole continuous first Káriká to VIII. 3, 45, consists of these words: व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये पूर्वोक्तः । न चात्र व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्ये । किं पुनः कारकम् । पूर्वोक्त्यन्वये व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यमात्रेयते न पुनरेकार्षीभावो यथावत्; on the first half of the second, the Bháshya runs: ऐकाक्षे सति वाक्के बलं न खात् । सविक्करोति । सविः करो-तीति; on the uninterrupted second half and first half of the third Káriká; यदि ह्यद्वयमेतत्ततो ऽधिकस्त बलं न प्राप्नोति । किं कारकं । प्रत्ययसहचये यस्मात्स तद-देवेष्टहं भवतीति वाक्के ऽपि तर्हि न प्राप्नोति । परमसविक्करोति; on the second half of the third Káriká: यदवयवगुणरपदक्येति प्रतिषेधं श्रद्धि तन्वापयवत्वाचार्यः । भवति वाक्के विभाविति; fourth Káriká, etc.

Patanjali to this grammarian, and a third which quotes Kātyāyana, and cannot therefore belong to this author of the Vārttikas.¹²¹

Another and very important class of grammatical writings frequently adverted to in the Māhabhāshya is familiar to Hindu grammarians under the name of *Paribhāshās*. They do not amend and criticize, but teach the proper application of, the rules of Pāṇini. While the *Sanjñā-rules* explain the technical terms of his work, the *Paribhāshās* explain the general principles, according to which the Sūtras are to be applied. Thus, when Pāṇini or other grammarians teach the meaning of the terms *Guṇa*, *Vṛiddhi*, *Upasarga*,

¹²¹ The Kārikās to I. 1, 38; VI. 4, 149; and VIII. 3, 45, belong, in all probability, to Patanjali, and those to III. 1, 123; 2, 118, 123 (Kār. 3); IV. 2, 13; and VI. 4, 120, to the "other" grammarians. The Kārikā to III. 1, 123, is distinctly introduced by Patanjali with the words *अपर आह*.—The third Kārikā to III. 2, 123, which has no other comment than the words *हिमवानपि वृच्छति*, is thus introduced by him, together with the two preceding and the two following verses: *अपर आहः । नास्ति वर्तमानः काल इति । अपि चात्र लोकादुदाहरति । न वर्तते, etc.* Compare note 107.—The first Kārikā to III. 2, 118, explicitly refers to Kātyāyana, in quoting his second Vārttika to this Sūtra.

Gati, *Dvandva*, etc., the rules devoted to this purpose are *Sanjñā-rules*; but when Pāṇini says, "If a grammatical element in the Sūtras has the mute letter *m*, this anubandha indicates that such an element has to be added after the last vowel of the radical or base with which it is to be joined;" or if he states, "The sixth case in a Sūtra means that, instead of that which is expressed by this case, something else, enjoined by the Sūtra, is to be substituted,"—such rules are *Paribhāshā-rules*.¹²²

¹²² Compare I. 1, 1, 2, etc., and other Sūtras marked in the edition *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*; and I. 1, 47, 49, and other Sūtras marked there *परिभाषासूचक*. But the Calcutta editors have failed in accuracy, also, in this respect. Thus the rule I. 1, 21, *आबन्तवदेकस्मिन्*, is marked by them as an *वृत्तिदेशः*; but Patanjali calls it distinctly *परिभाषा*; or I. 1, 69, *अनुदित्सर्वस्य चाप्रबन्*, has their mark *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*, but is called by Kātyāyana himself a *Paribhāshā* (ed. Ballantyne, p. 763); or I. 1, 72, *येन विधिल्लङ्घ्य* is marked by them *संज्ञाप्रदेशः*; but Patanjali likewise calls it a *Paribhāshā* (ed. Ballantyne, p. 372): *द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितवोरानन्तवदेकस्मिन्नेन विधिल्लङ्घ्येति च । इयमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आबन्तवदेकस्मिन्नेति । इयं च न भविष्यति येन विधिल्लङ्घ्येति, etc.*

A *Paribhāshā* contains either a special mark, which enables the reader to recognise at once the Sūtra to which it refers, or it is delivered without such a criterion. In the latter case, it is matter of discrimination to see whether it applies unconditionally or conditionally to a given Sūtra. In explaining, for instance (I. 1, 3), that "whenever *Guṇa* or *Vṛiddhi* is the subject of a rule, these terms are used in reference to the vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ri*, *ṛī*, and *ḥri* only," Pāṇini, by these technical terms, gives us the power of distinguishing at first sight, as it were, the Sūtras affected by this *Paribhāshā*. But when he says (I. 1, 54), "If a rule is given in reference to something which follows, it concerns merely the beginning of such a following element," it is for the reader to judge whether this *Paribhāshā* prevails unconditionally at, and is an essential part of, for instance, rule VII. 2, 83, or not. Again, when a *Paribhāshā* (I. 4, 2) teaches that "If two rules connected with one another, but of a different purport, apparently apply to the same case, the later rule only is valid," it is left to his judg-

ment to decide whether it may be applicable or not to rule VII. 3, 103, for instance.¹²³

The *Paribhāshās*, however, which are to be the subject of the following remarks, are not those given by Pāṇini himself: they are the *Paribhāshās* met with in the Great Commentary of Patanjali, and have been defined by *Vaidyaśākhā*, surnamed *Pāyagandā*, in his gloss on the *Paribhāshenduskhara* of *Nāga-*

¹²³ *Parashottama-vṛtti-tīkā* on Pāṇini, I. 1, 3: परि सर्वज्ञान उपयुक्ता सावी भाषा सा परिभाषा सा च लिङ्गवती विधङ्गयेयभूता च । या लिङ्गधारमावे (MS. E.L.H. No. 224, *भावो) गोपयुज्यते सा लिङ्गवती । या सर्वेव विधिवान् उपयुज्यते सापरा । सापि साविधिरेरङ्गभूता यां विना विधिवान्नास्ति प्रवर्तते । यथा । आदेः परल्लेखि (I. 1, 54) । य (MS. स) हि लविना ईदाव हति (VII. 2, 83) प्रवर्तते । सापिच विधिरेवभूता । विप्रतिषेधे परमिति (I. 4, 2) सविरोधे युषेचिदादी युषेस्त्वभाहतेव (comp. VII. 3, 103) । विरोधविषये तु एत्वात्परं (MS. खलापरं) कारयतीति । The explanation of the *Kāśikā*—which in general is much more lucid, and on the whole not more extensive than the compiled gloss of the Calcutta edition—runs thus on the word *विप्रतिषेध* (I. 4, 2): विरोधो विप्रतिषेधः । यत्र दो प्रसङ्गावभाषाविकल्पितुपपत्त्यासुतः स विप्रतिषेधः । गुणवसविरोधो विप्रतिषेधः.

jñāta, surnamed the *Upādhyāya*, as “axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by certain Sūtras of Pāṇini, and axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by the method that governs other works, but is applicable to Pāṇini also.” Each of these categories has been taught, as they state, by “older grammarians, in the shape of Sūtras,” the former however, Vaidyanātha observes, prevail in number and authority over the latter. In other words, these Paribhāshās are, according to the grammarians quoted, special axioms referring to Pāṇini exclusively, and general axioms which avail for *his* Grammar as well as for *other* works. The “certain” Sūtras of Pāṇini which indicate that such Paribhāshās are in existence and are required for a proper application of the rules, are called *Jñāpaka*, and the method of other authors which indicates that those Paribhāshās are applicable as well to them as to Pāṇini, bear the name of *Nyāya*.¹²⁴ We shall see, however, that this definition, to be

¹²⁴ *Paribhāshendūśekhara*, in the introduction: प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्रे वाचवि-

correct, will have to be modified; and I may mention, besides, that older commentators, Kaiyyāta, for instance, merely speak of Paribhāshās and Nyāyas, not of Paribhāshās founded on Nyāyas; while the author of the Paribhāshendūśekhara himself frequently gives the name of Nyāya to those Paribhāshās which, according to his introductory words, are such as are founded on Nyāya.¹²⁵

कान्यच याचिनीये तन्त्रे प्रापकवाचसिद्धानि भाष्यवार्तिकयोर्निबद्धानि यानि परिभाषारूपानि तानि वाक्यावन्ते. *Paribhāshendūśekhara-Kāśikā* of Vaidyanātha on these words: प्राचीनेति । एकादीत्यर्थः । वाचनिकानि । सूत्ररूपेण यदिति । वाच । चक्षिम् । एवमर्थे ऽपि प्रापकेत्यस्य प्रायेवेत्यादिः । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां संग्रहः । भाष्यसिद्धान्तावबसिद्धान्ता (MS. E.L.H. No. 490: भाष्यसिद्धा ऽन्ता) प्रापकेनाभ्यर्हितत्वाच्चापकशब्दस्य इत्ये पूर्वनिपातः (comp. II. 2, 34, v. 3) । तदैतच्छालीयसिद्धं प्रापकम् । एतच्छालीयैकतन्त्रानामवसिद्धान्तिर्वाचः । सूत्रपाठकपरिभाषावाक्यानावाच प्राचीनोक्तानां कांवाचिद्ग्रामावाकावाह भाष्येति etc.

¹²⁵ The *Laghuparibhāshācūṭṭi* is therefore divided into a gloss on what we may call the Paribhāshās proper and a gloss on the वाचयुक्ताः परिभाषाः which comprise twenty-eight axioms. This distinction is somewhat obscured in the

In now adverting to the chronological relation in which these axioms stand to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, we are, in the first place,

Paribhāṣendāśekhara, where both categories are mentioned in the introduction (comp. the preceding note), but afterwards treated promiscuously. The Calcutta edition has, in most instances, correctly appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra which is its *Jāpaka*: thus the P. निर्दिष्टमानखादेया भवन्ति which is required for the proper application of, e.g. the Sūtra VI. 4, 130; VII. 2, 101, etc., is correctly appended in this edition to the *Jāpaka-Sūtra* I. 1, 49; the P. नागुबन्धकतमनेकाक्षरम् which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 127, to the *Jāpaka* I. 1, 55; the P. सङ्घटतो विप्रतिषेधे यदाङ्गितं सङ्घटितमेव which applies e.g. to VI. 4, 105 combined with VII. 1, 35, to the *Jāpaka* I. 4, 2, and so on. Sometimes, however, the editors have appended the Paribhāṣā to the Sūtra for the interpretation of which it is required, but not to the *Jāpaka* rule where it ought to have been placed; e.g. the P. विकरलेखो नियमो बलीयान् applies to I. 3, 12, but its *Jāpaka* is I. 3, 43; or the P. नागुबन्धकतमनेकाक्षरम् is required for the proper interpretation of I. 1, 20; VI. 1, 45, etc., but its *Jāpaka* is III. 4, 19, etc. In some instances the authorities named differ as to the *Jāpaka* of a Paribhāṣā; thus the P. ऋषेयवृक्षेणानर्षकस्य यद्वक्ष्यम् is indicated according to the *Paribhāṣendāśekhara* which invokes the authority of Patañjali, by the *Jāpaka* I. 1, 72; according to the *Laghuparibhāṣāśrōtī*, by the *Jāpaka* I. 1, 34; the Calc. editors have placed it under I. 1, 68. —The P. प्रकृतिवद्वक्ष्यम् भवन्ति is indicated, according to the first named work, by the *Jāpaka* VI. 4, 58, according to the second, by the *Jāpaka* I. 3, 18; the editors

enabled to decide that Paribhāṣas of this kind must have existed before the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, for the latter quotes such Paribhāṣas in his Vārttikas.¹²⁵ Another question, how-

have appended it to VIII. 2, 46, which Sūtra, however, merely illustrates its applicability. Many other instances of this kind might be alleged in order to show that the matter is one of great difficulty to the Hindu grammarians themselves, and that in this respect, also, much scope is left for a future conscientious editor of Pāṇini. That the Paribhāṣas are not met with at the end of Patañjali's Bhāṣya to a Sūtra, requires no further observation after the statement of note 109; for they are an essential portion of the arguments of his discussion.—The term *खाद्य* is applied six times to Paribhāṣas by the Calcutta editors (viz. at the Sūtras I. 1, 23, 42, 47; twice II. 1, 1; III. 1, 12); but if they followed the Paribhāṣā collections quoted, they ought to have marked in a similar manner several axioms which are given by them simply as Paribhāṣas. At all events, they ought not to have called the same axiom *वन्निवद्वक्ष्यम्* Nyāya, at III. 1, 12, and *Paribhāṣā*, at VI. 1, 71; and since they repeated it in order to show its application, they might have mentioned it also at VI. 1, 135, where it likewise occurs in the commentary of Patañjali.

¹²⁵ A Vārttika to I. 1, 65, which has disappeared in the Calcutta edition, says: *यस्य विज्ञानास्ति तस्मिन्नि विज्ञानार्थे ऽसौ ऽस्त्वविचरन्त्यासद्विकारे*; its last words *मानार्थके*, etc., are a Paribhāṣā, as results from the Bhāṣya on this Vārttika:

ever, is, whether those Paribhāshās which existed before Kātyāyana existed also before Pāṇini, and whether we should be justified in looking upon the Paribhāshas collected in the Paribhāshenduśekhara, the Paribhāshasangraha, and similar works, as the original Paribhāshās to the Sūtras of Pāṇini. If we believed Vaidyanātha's definition of the two categories of Paribhāshās, and of the distinction he establishes between *Jñāpaka* and *Nyāya*, as just mentioned, it would become very probable that the Paribhāshās were composed *after* the Grammar of Pāṇini, and by another grammarian than Pāṇini, since there is no evidence to show that he wrote other Paribhāshās than those which are embodied in his own Sūtras; and if we assumed that the collections of Paribhāshās made and commented upon by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, Śrīadeva, and others, are the original collections, there would be a

बलविज्ञातिवर्जित चेत् । तत्र । किं कारणम् । नानर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वसिचिरनभा-
सविहारे । नानर्थके ऽहो ऽस्त्वसि विचिन्विता परिभाषा कर्तव्या । किमप्येवम् ।
नेत्याह । नान्वाहविहारे । Compare also a similar instance, in note 137.

certainty that the "older grammarians," whom the former quotes as his authority, did not precede Pāṇini, for one, or perhaps two, of these axioms, *mentioned in each of these collections*, distinctly refer to him.¹⁷

There are, however, reasons which must induce us to doubt the originality of the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, and to doubt too the strict correctness of Vaidyanātha's definition. In the first place, because these collections, each of which appears to be entitled to equal authority, differ in the number, and even in the wording, of the Paribhāshās which they contain, though they coincide in giving all those Paribhāshās which espe-

¹⁷ The Paribhāshā to IV. 1, 82: **चकतपुत्रः पाणिनीयः**; and the P. to VIII. 1. 1: **पूर्वपाणिनीयमस्ति**, which is, *perhaps*, founded on the Sūtra VIII. 2, 1; but as the expression **पूर्वपाणिने** need not be a quotation from Pāṇini, it would not be safe to found a conclusion on it with the same certainty as on the word **पाणिनीयाः**. For this reason I do not lay stress on another Paribhāshā which occurs in the *Paribhāshārthasangrahaṇīkāyāśāndrikā* and the *Laghuparibhāshāderīti*, and is founded on VII. 4, 2: **पूर्वपाणिने न खानिवत्** (its wording in the *Laghup.* **पूर्वपाणिनीये न खानिवत्** is erroneous. Compare note 132).

cially concern us here.¹²⁸ It is not probable, therefore, that the original collection of Paribhāshās was any of those now preserved in manuscript. But there is more ground to confirm this doubt. The *Paribhāshendusekhara* states, in its introduction, that it is going to explain "the axioms explicitly mentioned by the older grammarians and recorded in the *Bhāshya* and the *Vārtikas*;"—whereupon Vaidyanātha comments: "The older grammarians' are Indra and so on; 'explicitly mentioned' means read in the shape of Sūtras; 'in the Bhāshya' says the author of the *Paribhāshendusekhara*, because it is not his intention to explain the Paribhāshās which are embodied in Pāṇini's Sūtras,

¹²⁸ The number of Paribhāshās in the *Paribhāshendusekhara* is 108; it may, however, be given as 112, as several P. are contracted into one; in the *Paribhāshārcitti* of Śrīmadras it is 130; in the *Laghuparibhāshārcitti* and the *Paribhāshārthasaṅgrahayākyāchandrikā* there are 108 Paribhāshās proper and 28 *vyāyavūddhā* P., some of the latter being included in the 108 of the first named work. Another collection, which does not mention the name of the compiler, but bears the title of *Pāṇinimānūgāminī Paribhāshā*, has 123 Paribhāshās. Each of these collections has some Paribhāshās which are not named in several of the others.

and because some of those mentioned by the older grammarians carry no authority with them."¹²⁹

Now, if we compare the Paribhāshās collected in the last-named work, and in the other works devoted to the same purpose, with the Great Commentary itself, we find that they frequently call that a Paribhāshā which is not a quotation made by Patanjali from authorities which preceded him, but simply a portion of his own argument. No doubt, when this great critic considered himself justified in laying down general principles, according to which certain Sūtras are to be interpreted or applied, such axioms of his are to all intents and purposes Paribhāshās, but they are Paribhāshās of his, not of the authorities who preceded him.¹³⁰ And this dis-

¹²⁹ See note 124.

¹³⁰ I mentioned in note 109 that the absence or presence in the Bhāshya of the quotational word *ṣṭi* affords no criterion in the case of the *metrical Kṛtikās*. It is necessary to state now that this word is always met with when a Paribhāshā is quoted by Patanjali, and its absence is therefore a safe mark that a general axiom which occurs in his commentary is one of his own creation. A few instances chosen from the first

tion we must draw in order to judge whether Patanjali originated an axiom merely for the purpose of defending Pāṇini, or whether the Sūtra in question is *bona fide* entitled to the benefit of

chapters of the Mahābhāṣya will make good this assertion. We read in the Bhāṣya on I. 1, 20 (p. 395, ed. Ballantyne): दोष एवितक्षाः परिभाषायाः । अथप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्येति । नामादायद्वेष्यविशेष इति (the former of these P. is omitted in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 1, 49 (p. 565) निर्दिष्टमात्रादिषा अवन्तीति वा परिभाषा etc.; or at I. 1, 55 (p. 608) अस्तेषां परिभाषा । मानुषव्यवहृतमनैकार्थं अवतीति; or at I. 1, 15 (p. 277) एवं तर्हि नीचमुखाद्योमुखे कार्यसंप्रत्यय इति; or at I. 2, 63 तज्ज्ञापयत्वाचार्यः खर्चो ह्यन्यो विभावयैकव्यवतीति (not विभाषैक° as in the Calc. ed.); or at I. 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । सङ्गती विप्रतिषेधे यद्वाचितं तद्वाचितमेवेति; when in the latter three instances the word इति indicates that the preceding words are a Paribhāṣā, while in the first three instances the term itself is added, and इति afterwards. On the other hand, when we read at I. 1, 27 (p. 442): शिव दोषः । भवति हि चङ्ग्रीहो तदुपसंविज्ञानमयि । तस्य वा । विषयसमाजय etc.; or in the Bhāṣya on the same Sūtra (p. 448): कर्तव्यो ऽथ यत्नः । वाचकान्वयं हि विपत्तवान्नि भवन्ति, and it may, in passing, be observed that the Paribhāṣendūśekhāra and the Calc. ed. have omitted the word हि in giving

such a general rule, since it is certain that several of these axioms were invented at later periods, either to palliate the shortcomings of Pāṇini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend

these words as Paribhāṣās. Or when the Bhāṣya on the Vārtika श्रुत्यानयोच निमित्तभावात्तुल्यो ऽभावस्योरपवादत्वात् (omitted in the Calc. ed.), to II. 3, 46, says: ... श्रुत्यानयो तिकुपवादेती चाच वाच्यौ । न चापवादविचयमुत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । पूर्वे ह्यपवादा अभिनिविद्यते यच्चादुत्सर्गः । प्रकृत्य वापवादविवचं तत् उत्सर्गो ऽभिनिविद्यते । न तावदत्र कदाचित्तिङ्गुदिशो भवति etc., the words पूर्वे ° ° ऽभिनिविद्यते are clearly a portion of Patanjali's general argument, and do not contain Paribhāṣās of older grammarians.—These instances will illustrate the uncritical condition of the actual collections of Paribhāṣās. Some of these Paribhāṣās, moreover, are nothing else than Vārtikas of Kātyāyana forming part of the discussion of the latter; they, too, are therefore not the oldest Paribhāṣās, since, as we have seen above (note 126) Kātyāyana quotes a Paribhāṣā which must have preceded his Vārtikas. Such Paribhāṣās—Vārtikas, which are commented upon by Patanjali in the same manner as the Vārtikas—while he generally contents himself with merely quoting a Paribhāṣā rule—are, for instance, the P. to I, 66: उभयविदेशे विप्रतिषेधाप्यनयोचिदेशो; or to I, 72: अपदेशिपञ्चावो ऽप्रातिपदिकेन; or ऽथ यद्वाङ्मतिचकारे तस्य च सद्गुतरपदस्य च; or प्रत्ययस्यैव चापत्यङ्गः, etc. Other Paribhāṣās of the Paribhāṣendūśekhāra, etc., do not even represent the words of Patanjali, but merely the meaning of his general argu-

from the time at which he lived down to a period of linguistic development, which could not but find them defective in many respects.¹²¹

There is a material difference, therefore, between the Paribhāshas contained in these collections, *when taken as a whole*, and the Paribhāshas quoted by Patanjali; and no conclusion becomes safe until we know which Paribhāshas are quotations made by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, and which belong to their authorship, or even to other and later works. It suffices for our present purpose to add, that neither the first Paribhāshā already mentioned, which distinctly refers to Pāṇini, nor the second, is a Paribhāshā quoted by Patanjali or Kātyāyana.¹²²

ments; e.g., the P. given at I. 2, 9, पूर्ववदव्ययप्रवृत्तिः, is the representative of the following words of the Bhāshya : इतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पूर्ववत् । तत्रा । पूर्ववो वावदून् पूर्व च सर्वमनिवर्तति, etc.; and other Paribhāshas, again, so far as I was able to ascertain, do not occur at all in the Bhāshya; e.g., the P. at I. 1, 62. 63; II. 3, 46 (par. 2), etc.

¹²¹ Such Paribhāshas are, e.g., समावाक्यविधिरनितः, at VI. 2, 197, and the nine P. mentioned at III. 1, 79, by the Calcutta editors.

¹²² The Paribhāshā चक्रवर्तः पाणिनीयाः is mentioned in Kaiyata's gloss on the

We are left, then, free to judge of the relative age of these axioms entirely from their contents, and to weigh the probabilities which decide whether they could all have been written after Pāṇini or not. These probabilities strongly tend in favour of the latter alternative. For, however many of these *old* Paribhāshas may have been additions made after Pāṇini's

Bhāshya to IV. 1, 82, but not by Patanjali. The P. पूर्ववाक्यीयमनिवर्तने is, in my opinion, a portion of Patanjali's own argument, when commenting on the 10th Vārtika (of the Calcutta edition), to VIII. 1, 1, as results from the following quotation: पीनःपुनः पीनःपुनः एति । अत्रातिपदिकत्वात्तत्त्वोत्पत्तिर्न खात् । यदि तर्हि खाने दिवचनं रात्रा वाक्याकपदसेति (?) नलोपादीनि न सिद्ध्यन्ति । इदमिह संप्रधायं दिवचनं क्रियता नलोपादीनीति । किं नच कर्तव्यम् । परत्वात्तलोपादीनि पूर्वचासिद्धे नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नासि संप्रधारणा । एवं तर्हि पूर्वचासिद्धीयमनिवर्तन एति वक्ष्यामि etc. The same remark applies to the third Paribhāshā mentioned in note 127; for the passage of the Bhāshya to VII. 4, 2, whence this Paribhāshā is taken, runs thus : तज्ज्ञापयन्नाचार्यः । एत उत्तरं खानिवद्भावो न भवतीति । किमेतत् ज्ञापने प्रयोजनं पूर्वचासिद्धे न खानिव दिव्युक्तम् । तत्र वाक्यं भवति etc.

though before Patanjali's time, we still shall have to admit that without a *great number* of them, a *proper* application of his rules is absolutely impossible. Without them, many rules would become open to equivocations and doubts, nay, to such serious objections, that it is hardly possible to conceive a grammarian of the mould of Pāṇini handing his work to his contemporaries in a condition so needlessly precarious, and so little creditable to his skill.¹²

¹² Two instances will suffice to illustrate this character of what I consider to be the oldest Paribhāśas. In the rule III. 1, 94, Pāṇini teaches that if, in his chapter on kṛit-affixes, a subsequent rule supercedes a preceding rule, either of the kind of affixes enjoined by such rules may be at will employed in the formation of a kṛit-derivative, except when the affix enjoined is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and when the affixes in the preceding and subsequent rules are of *the same form*. Thus the Sūtra III. 1, 133, teaches that nouns denoting the agent are formed with the affixes *gṛat* (= *aka*) and *trich* (= *tri*). Again, Sūtra III. 1, 135, says that from *kship* and other radicals there named, such derivatives are formed with the affix *ka* (= *a*); hence, according to the Paribhāśa-rule III. 1, 94, the nouns of agent formed of *kship* may be *kshipa*, or *kshēpa* or *kshēptṛi*, since none of these affixes is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and none has the same form as the two remaining ones. But when Pāṇini rules, in III. 2, 3, that from *dā* a derivative may be formed *-da* (as latter part of compounds like *go-dā*, etc.), and,

Nevertheless, if he had delivered his grammar entirely without any Paribhāśá, we might still be free to assume, without inconsistency, that in doing so, he meant to leave to the acumen of

in III. 3, 12, a derivative *-díya* (as latter part of such compounds as *go-díya*, etc.) it would become doubtful whether there be an option also in these instances, since the technical affix of the form *-da* is *ka*, and of the form *-díya*, *aṅ*, and since it is not clear whether *ka* and *aṅ* could be considered as affixes of a different form, or—on account of their representing the real affix *a*, though with a different influence on the radical—as affixes of the same form. This doubt is not solved by Pāṇini himself, but by a Paribhāśá quoted by Patanjali, which says : *नानुबन्धकतमसाङ्गम्*, “dissimilarity (of the affixes) is not produced by the mute *anubandha*.” And Pāṇini must have supposed that his readers were acquainted with this Paribhāśá; for otherwise, as an accurate writer, he could not—in the Sūtra III. 1, 139—have treated, without any further explanation, the affixes *śa* (= *a*) and *ṇa* (= *a*) as similar affixes, and exempted them as such from the influence of the rule III. 1, 94.—Or when, in the Sūtra VI. 1, 48 (and VII. 3, 36), he says that the radical *i*, before the affix of the causal, becomes *úp*, his rule (VI. 4, 57) on *úp* would be equivocal, since the form *úp* may represent a simple radical, too,—unless he relied on the familiarity of his reader with the Paribhāśá, which states : *बन्धप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्य*, “(if there is a doubt) whether a secondary or a primitive form (be meant); the primitive form (has the precedence).”

his commentators the task of eliciting these general principles from his grammatical rules. But we know that such is not the case; his work bears evidence that he *has* given Paribhāshā-rules,—axioms which are in no way more important than many of those which are met with in the Mahābhāshya, but not in his work;—axioms which admit of the same arguments for or against their desirability or their indispensableness in a book of this kind. The omission of these rules, then, would not be one made on principle; it would assume the nature of a serious defect, unless we discovered a motive which would reconcile it with the accuracy that characterizes this great grammarian.

We have proof—and some will be afforded in the sequel—that Pāṇini was not the *inventor* of the grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, and made his own additions to it. We shall see, moreover, that he availed himself of the technical means of the older grammarians, and, in such a case, never gave any explanation of those technicalities which must have been known to his contemporaries, and,

therefore, required no remark. If, then, we supposed that he followed the same course with regard to the Paribhāshā-rules—and there is no reason why he should not—our inference would, of necessity, be that he was compelled to give such Paribhāshās as did not occur in the works of his predecessors, and were required as special axioms for his own work; but that, without exposing himself to the reproach of carelessness, he could omit all those Paribhāshās which were already in existence, and were available, as well for the grammar of his predecessors as for his own.

And this conclusion is confirmed by the sense in which the term *Jūpāka* is used in the older commentaries, especially in the Mahābhāshya itself, where by this name are called such rules of Pāṇini as “indicate” or point to other rules which show how the former rules are to be applied properly. In commenting, for instance, on a Vārttika to the Sūtra I. 1, 23, which defines the technical term *saṅkhyā*, Patanjali asks, “how will there be in rules on *saṅkhyā* a correct understanding of this term?” and

answers this question in the following manner: “(This understanding) results from the *Jnāpaka*-rule. What is such a *Jnāpaka*-rule? When Pāṇini, in his Sūtra V. 1, 23, teaches that bases formed with the affix *vat*, have an additional vowel *i* before the affix *ka* enjoined in the preceding rule for *sankhyā*s,—is this Sūtra V. 1, 23, the *Jnāpaka*-rule of *sankhyā*? (*i.e.* does this Sūtra indicate that bases formed with *vat* are comprised under the technical name *sankhyā*?) No. For the term *Jnāpaka* concerns the application of a rule (*i.e.* this term is not used of a Sūtra when its application is prohibited; the Sūtras V. 2, 51 and 52, for instance, as Kaiyaṭa observes, are *Jnāpakas* of the Sūtra on *sankhyā*).¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Vārtika to I. 1, 23 (om. in the Calc. ed.; p. 432 ed. Ballantyne): ब्रह्मादीनाम-यद्वयम्. *Patanjali*: ब्रह्मादीनां यद्वयं शक्यमवर्तुम्। केनेदानीं संख्याप्रदेशेषु संख्या-संग्रहयो भविष्यति। ज्ञापकास्तिङम्। ज्ञापकं किम्। यदयं वतोरिङ्गिति (V. 1, 23) संख्याया विहितस्य कनो (comp. V. 1, 22) बलनादिटं शास्ति। वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात। नेत्याह। योगापिबं ज्ञापकम्.—*Kaiyaṭa*: ज्ञापकास्तिङमिति। एकादिवन्नि-यतसंख्यावाचित्वं ब्रह्मादीनां नासीति ज्ञापकाश्रयः। योगापिबमिति। अस्य योगस्य

Hence, though a rule may stand in relation to another rule, it is not its *Jnāpaka* unless it indicate its real purpose;¹³⁵

प्रत्याख्यानदेतद्योगापिबमिति न बोद्धव्यम्। किं तु योगानपिबत इति योगापिबम्। यदयं बहुपूरणसघस्य त्रियुक् (V. 2, 52) षट्कृतीति (V. 2, 51) इति परत आनमं शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयति भवति संख्याकार्यमिति. Nāgajibhatta explains: योगापिबमिति। प्रयोगापिबमित्यर्थः.—This instance will suffice to illustrate the use of the word *jnāpaka*, which is of constant occurrence in the Bhāṣya, and is always employed in a similar manner. In order to obviate an objection which might be raised by those not familiar with the Mahābhāṣya against my rendering वतोरिव तज्ज्ञापकं खात “is this Sūtra V. 1, 23,” etc.,—I have to observe that Patanjali when quoting a Sūtra, often merely mentions its principal word, instead of repeating the words of the Sūtra and adding after them the quotational word इति. The word वतोः taken from the Sūtra वतोरिङ्गा is therefore here an equivalent of वतोरिङ्गिति. Analogous instances will be found in note 136.

¹³⁵ Patanjali observes, for instance, in his comment on the first Śivasūtra (p. 87 ed. Ballantyne): कथं ज्ञायते यदयम् अ (VIII. 4, 68) ह्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृताप्रत्या-पत्तिं शास्ति। नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्। अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य प्रयोजनम् etc.; or on the Vārtika to I. 1, 36, आहिभुवोरिट्प्रतिषेधः. he observes (p. 633, ed. Ballantyne): आहिभुवो-रीट्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः। आत्य। अमृत। अस्ति ब्रूयह्येन यद्व्यादीट् प्राप्नोति। आहोला-

and as Patanjali expressly and repeatedly states, a rule has the character of a Jnápaka only when it is given in reference to a rule already previously established, and when its sense becomes completed by it. Thus the Sūtra III. 2, 97, says Patanjali, is no *Jnápaka* of the Guṇa-rule I. 1, 3, since the former rule does not become completed through the contents of the latter. Or, the Sūtra VII. 2, 103 is not a *Jnápaka* of the rule VII. 2, 102, since its object would not be accomplished by the contents of this latter rule, though the words concerned by both rules are comprised under the term *suranāman*.¹³⁶ In

वत्त वक्तव्यः । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति । नाहेरीद भवतीति । यदयमाहस्य इति (VIII. 2, 35) झलादिप्रकरणे यत्वं शक्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयो-
जनम् । किम् । भूतपूर्वगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत । झलादियौ भूतपूर्व इति । यत्वेवं यवचनम-
नर्थकं स्यात् etc.; and the like in other instances.

¹³⁶ Patanjali e.g. in his gloss on the Vārtikas to I. 1. 3 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 248):
यदप्युच्यते जनेर्द्वचनं (III. 2, 97) ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति सिद्धे विधिरा-
रम्भमाशौ ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति: on the last words of the third

consequence, a *Jnápaka* rule cannot precede, but must come after the rule which is indicated by it.

In now considering the relation which exists between the Jnápakas and the Paribhāshā-Sūtras,¹³⁷ we cannot but perceive that it nowise differs from the relation which exists between rules in-
stanced before and ordinary rules indicated by these Jnápakas. In the same manner as there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of other rules, there are Jnápaka-rules which indicate the purpose of Paribhāshās, and all the Paribhāshās given by Pāṇini

Kārikā to VII. 2, 102: एवं तर्हीचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सर्वेषां त्वदादीनामत्वं भव-
तीति । यदयं किमः क इति (VII. 2, 103) बादेशं शक्ति । इतरथा हि किमोऽङ्गवतीत्वव
ब्रूयात् । सिद्धे विधिरारम्भमाशौ ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च किमोऽत्वेन सिध्यति .

¹³⁷ A Paribhāshā is, on account of this relation, also called *ज्ञाय*. In his comment, for instance, to I. 4, 14, Patanjali says: अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न सुप्तिङ्यपदमिखिवोच्यते
जनेदानौ तदन्तानां भविष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत उत्तरं पठति .—Vārtika : यद-
संज्ञायामन्तवचनमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थं .—Patanjali :
पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते । किं ज्ञायम् । एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ
प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति etc. Compare note 126.

himself, therefore, precede their Jnápaka-rules. If, then, as we learn from Kātyāyana and Patanjali, there existed Paribhāṣhās which are not contained in Pāṇini's grammar, but which nevertheless are indicated by Jnápakaḥ, which are Sūtras of Pāṇini, such Paribhāṣhās must, at least in Patanjali's opinion, have existed before Pāṇini's work; for otherwise the definition given by the Mahābhāṣhya of the term *Jnápaka* would become inconsistent with itself. And since Paribhāṣhās or principles of interpretation cannot be conceived without matter to be interpreted according to them, such Paribhāṣhās must not only have preceded Pāṇini, but they must have been taught in one or more other grammatical works; and Vaidyanātha, therefore, as I suggested above, cannot be correct in basing his distinction between *Ngāya* and *Jnápaka* on the circumstance that the latter refers to Pāṇini exclusively, while the former applies also to other works. In all probability the difference is this: that *Jnápaka* is used especially of grammatical rules, while *Ngāya* is a synonyme of Paribhāṣhā, but applies to writings which are not grammatical.

In now summing up the result we have obtained from the previous investigation, so far as it bears on our immediate problem, we find that the oldest author on record who wrote on Pāṇini was Kātyāyana, and that he was not merely the author of the Vārttikas, properly so called, but also of a certain number of Kārikās, which, in reality, however, are nothing else than an assemblage of single Vārttikas, forming, combined, a stanza or a verse. We have seen, too, that Vārttikas, which form an essential part of the Mahābhāṣhya itself, are of Patanjali's authorship.

What, then, is the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, and of Patanjali to Pāṇini and to Kātyāyana? Is it that of commentators, or is it to be defined otherwise?

Professor Müller confers upon Kātyāyana the title of "editor" of Pāṇini, and says that "the Great Commentary of Patanjali embraces both the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Sūtras of Pāṇini."¹²⁸ Professor Weber, on the contrary—who, even in some

¹²⁸ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 353 and 243.

of his latest writings, candidly confesses that he has never read the *Mahābhāṣya*, but nevertheless, or perhaps for this reason, abounds in conjectures on this work, which not only is in existence but within reach,—goes so far as to throw doubt on the genuineness of those Sūtras which are not explained, *because* they are not explained, in the Great Commentary.¹²⁹ I fear that neither scholar

¹²⁹ For instance, in the *Indische Studien*, vol. IV., p. 78: "Die *Pāṇis* kommen in dem Schol. zu Pāṇini (IV. 1, 95; 2, 112) vor (ob aus dem *Mahābhāṣya*?)"; or in a note to the same vol., p. 168, when referring to the Sūtra VI. 2, 142 of Pāṇini, he observes: "Allerdings: *dhāhye tu na vyākhyāyātam*, also unsicher, ob ihm gehörig." ["Also"—, on what basis does this conclusion rest? "*Unsicher*"—, for whom?] The same confession and the same conjecture occur, indeed, so often in Professor Weber's multifarious writings, that it becomes a matter of psychological curiosity to see how an author, apparently much concerned about a certain subject, instead of acquiring the necessary information—which in the present case could not have caused any great difficulty,—or of consulting at least some one who might have allayed his inquietude, constantly displays before the public his feelings and theories, whereas, by dint of a stereotyped repetition of the same words, he must convey to a confident reader the impression that there may be some foundation, at least, for his would-be critical surmise.

will find adherents for his opinion amongst the pupils of Patañjali and Kātyāyana. The mutual relation of these latter grammarians and their relation to Pāṇini is, indeed, implied by the word *Vārtika*.

"The characteristic feature of a *Vārtika*," says Nāgajibhatta, "is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sūtra."¹³⁰ A *Vārtika* of Kātyāyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes. In proposing to himself to write *Vārtikas* on Pāṇini, Kātyāyana did not mean to justify and to defend the rules of Pāṇini, but to find fault with them; and whoever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content. He will even have to admit that Kātyāyana has frequently failed in justice to Pāṇini, by twisting the words of the Sūtras into a sense which they need not have, or by upbraiding Pāṇini with

¹³⁰ Nāgajibhatta on Kaiyaṣa to the first *Vārtika* (of the Calc. ed.) of I. 1, 1 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 213): **वार्तिकमिति । सूत्रे गुणदुर्लभविनाकारलं वार्तिकत्वम्.**

failings he was not guilty of. On this score he is not unfrequently rebuked by Patanjali, who on such occasions severely rates him for his ungenerous treatment of Pāṇini, and, as we have seen in an instance above (p. 52), proves to him that he himself is wanting in proficiency, not Pāṇini. Kātyāyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or friend of Pāṇini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist. In consequence, his remarks are attached to those Sūtras alone which are open to the censure of abstruseness or ambiguity, and the contents of which were liable to being completed or modified : he is silent on those which do not admit of criticism or rebuke.

The position of Patanjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas. But as he has two predecessors to deal with, instead of one,—and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,—his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini and then of animad-

verting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian ; and thus the Mahābhāshya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, on the *Vārttikas of Kātyāyana* ; while its *Ishtis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his own remarks.

I have already mentioned that Patanjali often refutes the strictures of Kātyāyana and takes the part of Pāṇini ; I may now add that, in my opinion, and as a few instances hereafter will show, he sometimes overdoes his defence of Pāṇini, and becomes unjust to Kātyāyana. It is easy, however, to understand the cause of this tendency in Patanjali. The spirit of independent thought, combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian—to whom, as far as my knowledge goes, only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, I mean the Mīmāṃsā philosopher, Kumārila—

could not allow him to become a mere paraphraser of another's words. An author like Patanjali can only comment on the condition that, in doing so, he develops his own mind, be it as adherent or as antagonist. And since Kātyāyana had left but little chance for a successor to discover many more blemishes in the Grammar of Pāṇini than he had pointed out, an active and critical mind like that of Patanjali would find more scope and more satisfaction in contending with Kātyāyana than in completing Pāṇini; and thus, I hold, we may explain his proneness to weaken even those censures of Kātyāyana which we should see reason to approve, did we not discover in favour of Pāṇini arguments which will appear hereafter, but which were foreign to Patanjali.

As little, therefore, as it entered into the purpose of Kātyāyana to advert to every Sūtra of Pāṇini, did it come within the aim of Patanjali to write a commentary on Pāṇini, and, according to the requirements of such a commentary, to explain every rule of this grammarian. His object being, like that of Kātyāyana, merely a critical one, Patanjali comments upon the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana,

because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pāṇini or on Kātyāyana; and, in consequence, no Vārttika could be left unnoticed by him. Again, independently of Kātyāyana, he writes his own Vārttikas to Sūtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz., on Pāṇini. And, like Kātyāyana, therefore, he passes over altogether all those Sūtras which are unexceptionable to his mind. It is obvious, therefore, that no doubt whatever concerning the genuineness of a Sūtra of Pāṇini can be justified on the ground alone that it has no Bhāṣya of Patanjali; and the unsoundness of such a doubt becomes still more obvious when we consider that a great many Sūtras of Pāṇini, which have no Vārttikas and no Bhāṣya of Patanjali, nevertheless make their appearance as quotations and as part of Patanjali's argument in his Commentary on other Sūtras criticized by Kātyāyana.

Now, if we take a summary view of the labours of Kātyāyana, we find that of the 3993 or 3992 Sūtras of Pāṇini, more than 1500 offered him the opportunity of showing his superior skill; that his

criticisms called forth more than 4000 Vārttikas, which, at the lowest estimate, contain 10,000 special cases comprised in his remarks.

Having arrived at this point, let us ask—How could India resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes? Suppose that there existed in our days a work of 4000 paragraphs, every second or third of which not merely called for an emendation, an addition, and corrections, in formal respects, but which, on the whole, compelled us to draw the conclusion that there were twice and a half times as many blunders in it as it contained matter to be relied upon,—is it possible to assume that such a work could create a reputation for its author except one which no sensible man would be desirous of? If we assumed such a possibility, it could only be on the supposition that such an author originated the subject he brought before the public, and, as an inventor, had a special claim to indulgence and fame; or, on the supposition of public ignorance and individual immorality. ✓

But there is evidence to show that Pāṇini was not the first

Hindu grammarian who wrote, nor even the inventor of the technical system which has caused so much uneasiness to would-be philologists. It is certain, too, that grammar was not, in ancient India, the esoteric study of the few; and there is no proof of any kind that Pāṇini had influenced or hired a number of scribes to puff his Grammar and his fame. We must needs, therefore, resort to another explanation, if we want to reconcile the fact of the Vārttikas with the fact of Pāṇini's reputation, which was so great that supernatural agency was considered as having assisted him in his work.

This explanation, I hold, can only be derived from the circumstance that *Pāṇini and Kātyāyana belonged to different periods of Hindu antiquity*,—periods separated by such a space of time as was sufficient to allow—

1. *Grammatical forms which were current in the time of Pāṇini to become obsolete or even incorrect;*

2. *Words to assume meanings which they did not possess at the period when he lived;*

3. *Words and meanings of words used by him to become antiquated; and*

4. *A literature unknown to him to arise.*

It is on this supposition alone that it seems possible to realise Pāṇini's influence and celebrity; of course, on the supposition, too, that in his time he gave so accurate, so complete, and so learned a record of the language he spoke, that his contemporaries, and the next ages which succeeded him, could look with admiration on the rules he uttered, as if they were founded on revelations from above. If he had bungled along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Kātyāyana,—not he, but the author of the Vārttikas, would have been the inspired Rishi and the reputed father of the Vyākaraṇa. It is not necessary to exaggerate this view by assuming that Pāṇini was an infallible author, who committed no mistakes, omitted no linguistic fact, and gave complete perfection to a system already in use: we need take no other view of the causes of his great success than we should take of those which produce the fame of a living man. His work may or may

not have been looked upon by his contemporaries as having attained the summit of excellency, but, at all events, it must have ascended far beyond mediocrity. At its own period it cannot have failed so signally, and in so many respects, as it would have done if Pāṇini and Kātyāyana had been contemporaries.

In order fully to substantiate this view, I should have to submit a considerable portion of Pāṇini's Grammar and the Vārttikas connected with it, to an investigation which would exceed by far the limits prescribed by the present inquiry; and such an investigation might, moreover, appear to be superfluous on the present occasion, since I shall adduce hereafter arguments of another kind, which will add materially to the force of these deductions. Yet the importance of this question is so great that I will indicate, at least by a few instances, the direction in which, I believe, the facts may be found that lead to the conclusions named.

1. Pāṇini says (I. 2, 6) that the radical *indh* is *kit* in *lūt*, which words mean that, according to rule VI. 4, 24, the preterit of *indh* is

idhe. This radical he treats together with *bhā*; and he does not observe—as he always does if such be the case—that his rule concerns the Vaidik use of the preterit of *indh*. Yet Kātyāyana corrects the injunction of the Sūtra by adding this restriction; and, for reasons connected with the latter, goes so far as to declare this Sūtra of Pāṇini to be superfluous.¹⁴

In rule VII. 1, 25, Pāṇini states that the *sarvanāmāni* (which word is usually but inaccurately rendered “pronouns”) which are formed with the affixes *datara*, and *datama*,—moreover, *itara*, *anya*, and *anyatara* (Gaṇa to I. 1, 27) form their neuters not in *m*, but in *d*, e.g. *katarad*, *katamad*, *anyad*, etc.; but he says in a

following special rule, that, in the Veda, *itara* has *itarām* for its neuter. It is obvious, therefore, that he intended to exhaust his subject by these rules; yet Kātyāyana has to state that “*ekatara* forms *ekatarām* in the Veda as well as in the language of common life.”¹⁴²

The letters *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*, at the end of a Pada, says Pāṇini (VIII. 4, 45) may become *g*, *d*, *ḍ*, *b*, before a following nasal, or be changed into the nasal of their class. Kātyāyana adds: “If, however, the following nasal is part of an affix, these letters *must always* become the nasal of their class, in the language of common life.”¹⁴³

Now I have chosen these instances from the sphere of conjugation, declension, and phonetic laws, simply because they at once suggest the question whether Pāṇini knew as much grammar as

¹⁴² VII. 1, 26: नेतराच्छब्दसि.—Vārttika: इतराच्छब्दसि प्रतिषेध एकतरात्सर्वच.

¹⁴³ VIII. 4, 45: यतो ऽनुनासिके ऽनुनासिको वा.—Vārttika: यतो ऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनम्.—Bhāṣya: यतो ऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां निवृत्तिरिति यत्नवत् । वाङ्मयं लघुवत्.

¹⁴⁴ I. 2, 6: एभिर्नवतिभ्यां च.—Vārttika: एवेच्छब्दोविषयत्वाच्चो युको नित्यत्वात्ताभ्यां विद्वचनान्वयकम्.—Bhāṣya: एवेच्छब्दोविषयो विद । न ह्यनारेण छब्द इतिरनारो विद्वद्वयः । चाग्रा भाषायां भवितव्यम् । युवो युवो नित्यत्वाच्चवतेरपि नित्यो युवुते युवे प्राप्नोति । अछते ऽपि प्राप्नोति । ताभ्यां विद्वचनान्वयकम् । ताभ्यामिद्विभर्तृभ्यां विद्वचनमन्वयकम्. (The Calcutta editors have on this occasion mistaken Kātyāyana's Vārttika for Patanjali's Bhāṣya).

we should fairly expect from a beginner, who had studied Sanskrit for a few months. Is it probable or not, that he was proficient enough to form the preterite of the common radical *indh*, "to kindle," the nominative of the neuter of *ekatara*, "one of two,"—a word which, moreover, is the subject of one of his special rules (V. 3, 94)? and was he really so ignorant as not to be able to combine *vāk* or *twak*, with the common affix *maya* into *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*, though a phonetic influence of the affix *maya* on the base *hiranya* is adverted to in his rule VI. 4, 174? Or is it more plausible to assume that *idhe* and *ekatarad* were forms current in his time, though no longer current and correct when Kātyāyana wrote; and that when Pāṇini lived, *vāgmaya* or *twāgmaya* were as legitimate as *vāṅmaya* or *twāṅmaya*? That Kātyāyana's stricture may be as much open to censure as the rule of Pāṇini, unless we, in fairness, gave it the benefit of a similar argument, is proved by the words *kakūḍīnat*, *kakūḍmin*, and *garukhāt*, which "in the (classical) language of common life" are quite correct, but would have been incorrect according to the

Vārttika, if they had been used in such language at the time when it was composed.¹⁴

2. Pāṇini says (VI. 1, 150), "the bird (*nominative*) may be *vishkira* or *vikira*" (either of which means any eatable bird but a cock). This rule is thus modified by Kātyāyana: "the form may be *vishkira* or *vikira* if the sense of the word is 'bird'" (*locative*). Patanjali, it is true, sides with Pāṇini. The Vārttika, he says, is irrelevant, since it teaches that either form *vishkira* or *vikira*, is correct, if the word means "bird," but that *vishkira* would be the only legitimate form, if the word has any other sense. Pāṇini, however, he adds, did not mean to affect the sense "bird" by his optional "or," but the irregular form of the derivative.¹⁵

¹⁴ It is not permitted to adduce also वारिमन्, for this word ought to be written— as, for instance, the commentators of the Amarakosha do write it—वारिमन्, since the affix is not रिन्, but रिन्, according to Pāṇini, V. 2, 124: वापो रिमिन्. रिन् is रिमिन् the letter र् is not an *anubandha*, results from I. 3, 8.

¹⁵ VI. 1, 150: विकिरः प्रकुनिर्विकिरे वा.—विकिरः विकिरः प्रकुनी विकिरे इति वक्तव्यम्.—Bhāṣya: प्रकुनी वेवुचमाने प्रकुनी जा (जाः) सादृश्येणापि विकिरः।

Nevertheless, it appears to me that both grammarians are right, and that Patanjali's decision is open to doubt. Whenever Pāṇini binds the application of a rule to the condition of a special sense, he expresses the latter by a word either in the locative or nominative. If he gives the meaning of the word in the locative it does not necessarily follow, though it usually happens to be the case, that such a word has other meanings, too, which are then excluded from the influence of the rule; but if he expresses the sense of the word in the nominative, he seems always to indicate that the word has this sense, and this sense only,—that both sense and word, being expressed in the same case, are, as it were, congruous.¹⁴⁶ His present rule would therefore imply that each form, *viśhkīra* or *vikīra*, has no other sense than that of "bird;" but

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वाच्येन शकुनिरभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि निपातनमभिसंबध्यते विक्किर इत्येतन्निपातनं शकुनी वा निपात्यत इति.

¹⁴⁶ Compare e.g. III. 3, 80. 81. 87; V. 2, 15; VI. 1, 149 (the meanings 2 and 3 of चपलक, in my Dictionary, are of later origin); VI. 1, 155. 156, etc.

Kātyāyana's corrections would mean that both forms are optional in the sense of "bird," while in any other sense both forms represent separate words. This fact is borne out by the meanings given in Wilson's Dictionary under each form.

The word *úscharya* is rendered by Pāṇini *anitya* (VI. 1, 147), i.e. "not permanent, rare." Kātyāyana corrects this meaning, in substituting for it *adbhuta*, i.e. "that which has not existed before, miraculous, wonderful." On this occasion, too, Patanjali defends Pāṇini, by observing that this remark might have been spared, for the sense, "wonderful, miraculous," is implied by the sense "rare;" and he gives instances to confirm this view, viz., "the height of (this) tree is something 'rare' (or wonderful); the blueness of the sky is something 'rare' (or wonderful);" but I very much doubt whether logicians will assent to this view of Patanjali; for, though all that is wonderful is rare, not all that is rare need be wonderful. And he himself seems to break down under his third instance, which runs thus: "That the stars which are not fastened in the

atmosphere do not fall down, is"—surely not rare, but wonderful.¹⁴⁷ In other terms, the meaning of *āścharya*, given by Pāṇini, seems to have been only "rare;" and if so, it preceded that which became more usual at a later time, and is mentioned by Kātyāyana.

Another and, perhaps, more striking instance is afforded by the Sūtra (VII. 3, 69) where Pāṇini renders the word *bhojya* by *bhākshya*; for Kātyāyana corrects him in saying that he ought to have rendered *bhojya* by *abhyavahārya*. Now, if we consult the use of these words in the classical language, there can be no doubt that *bhojya*

¹⁴⁷ VI. 1, 147 : आश्चर्यमनिले .—Vārttika (mis-edited in the Calc. ed.): आश्चर्यममृत इति वक्तव्यम्.—Bhāshya : रहापि यथा खात । आश्चर्यमुद्धता वृक्षस्य । आश्चर्यं नीला बीः । आश्चर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अनिल इतिव सिद्धम् । इह तावदाश्चर्यमुद्धता वृक्षस्येति । आश्चर्ययद्दणेन न वृक्षो ऽभि-संबध्यते किं तर्ह्युद्धता सा चानिला । आश्चर्यं नीला बीरिति नाश्चर्ययद्दणेन बीरभि-संबध्यते किं तर्हि बीलता सा चानिला । आश्चर्यमन्तरिचे त्वन्वनानि नचचाणि न पतन्तीति नाश्चर्ययद्दणेन नचचास्त्रभिसंबध्यते किं तर्हि पतनक्रिया सा चानिला । तच्चानिल इतिव सिद्धम्.

and *abhyavahārya* mean "what is fit for consumption," and apply to solid as well as to liquid substances; that, on the other hand, *bhākshya* means "what is fit to be eaten," and applies to solid food only. Is it likely, however, that Pāṇini should have blundered in the application of words which, it would seem, the most ignorant would employ properly? Patanjali, who, as I have already observed, is always disposed to stand by Pāṇini, again takes up his defence, and observes, that Pāṇini's using the word *bhākshya* instead of *abhyavahārya* need not have been criticised by Kātyāyana, for there are expressions like *ab-bhāksha*, "one who eats water," or *vāyu-bhāksha*, "one who eats air," which show that the radical *bhāksh* is used also in reference to other than solid food.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ VII. 3, 69 : भोज्यं भक्ष्ये .—Vārttika : भोज्यमन्ववहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (where the nominative of *अन्ववहार्य* implies an additional criticism against the locative of *भक्ष्य*; see the foregoing remark, page 126).—Bhāshya : रहापि यथा खात । भोज्यः सूपः । भोज्या यवागूरिति । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति । भक्षिरयं खरविशदे वर्तते तेन द्रवे न प्राप्नोति । नावस्त्रं भक्षिः खरविशदे वर्तते किं तर्ह्यन्वचापि वर्तते । तच्चया । अन्व-चो वायुमन्व इति.

But both instances alleged by Patanjali are conventional terms; they imply a condition of fasting, and derive their citizenship amongst other *classical* words from a Vaidik expression, as Patanjali himself admits, when, in his introduction to Pāṇini, he speaks of *ekapadaś*, or words, the sense of which can only be established from the context of a Vaidik passage to which they originally belong;¹⁴⁰ they do not show, therefore, that *bhākṣh* is applied also to other phrases of the classical language, so as to refer to liquid food. It seems evident, therefore, that in Pāṇini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhākṣhya* must have been used as a convertible term for *bhojya*; while, at Kātyāyana's period, this rendering became incorrect, and required the substitution of another word.

3. The words and the meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the scientific writers of the classical literature: his expressions would not invite any special

attention nor call forth any special remark. This cannot be said of the language of Pāṇini. In his Sūtras occur a great number of words and meanings of words, which—so far as my own knowledge goes—have become antiquated in the classical literature. I will mention, for instance, *pratyavasānā*, eating (I. 4. 52; III. 4. 76); *upasamtūda*, making a bargain (III. 4. 8); *rishi*, in the sense of Veda, or Vaidik hymn (IV. 4. 96); *utsanjana*, throwing up (I. 3. 36); *vyāgha*, application, employment in (I. 3. 36); *upasambhāśā*, talking over, reconciling (I. 3. 47); *svakarana*, appropriating, especially a wife, marrying (I. 3. 56); *sālinikarāṇa*, humbling (I. 3. 70); *mati*, desire (III. 2. 188); *abhreṣa*, propriety (III. 3. 37); *avakṛipti*, imagining (III. 3. 145); *abhyādāna*, commencement (VIII. 2. 87); *hoṭrā*, in the sense of *ritvij*, priest (V. 1. 135); *upājekṛi* and *anvājekṛi*, to strengthen (I. 4. 73); *nivachaneṭṛi*, to hold one's speech, to be silent (I. 4. 76); *kanēhan* and *manohan*, to fulfil one's longing (I. 4. 66), etc. etc.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Some of these expressions, or others belonging to the same category, occur also

¹⁴⁰ For the quotation from Patanjali's preface to Pāṇini (ed. Ballantyne, p. 46) see my Dictionary, s.v. **एकपादश**.

4. To prove a negative, is, no doubt, the hardest of all problems. There are circumstances, however, which may lessen the danger of drawing the conclusion that an author cannot have possessed such and such knowledge when he wrote. If we take into account the evidence afforded by the author's character and work, the judgment passed on his writings by his countrymen, and the condition of the latter,—these elements put together into the scale of criticism will show whether the scale of the author's proficiency can spare, or not, a certain amount of weight without disturbing the balance required. That Pāṇini was an eminent writer, is not only manifest from his Grammar, but acknowledged by the common judgment of his countrymen; and the learning and civilization of ancient India was such that we must admit the fullest

is the Kōśha, and in the artificial poetry, especially the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. This circumstance, however, does not disprove that they are obsolete in the real literature, since the Kōśha have borrowed them from Pāṇini, whereas the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya is expressly written to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini, and the artificial poetry bases its chief merits on the strangeness of its style and words.

competence in those who established his celebrity. But we know, too, that Pāṇini was a Brahmanic writer. No amount of scholarship could have ensured to him the position he holds in the ancient literature if he had been a professor of the Buddhistic creed. In forming, then, an opinion on Pāṇini we must always bear in mind his learning and his religious faith, and the consequences which follow from both these premises.

After these preliminary remarks I will first advert to the Sūtra (IV. 2. 129) in which Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word *Āranyaka*, and says that it means, "a man who lives in a forest." That *Āranyaka* has this meaning is unquestionable. It means, too, if we consult the lexicographers, "a forest," "a forest-elephant, a jackall, etc.;" but above all it is the name of those theosophical works which are the precursors of the Upanishads, and are held in the greatest awe by the Hindu authorities.¹⁵¹ If a learned Hindu were

¹⁵¹ Manu, IV. 123, for instance, applies the same injunction to the termination of a lecture of an *Āranyaka* as to that of a whole Veda: *सामध्यानुमन्तुमी वाचीयेत कदाचन । विदुःसाचीयेत वाचनमरिखकमधीनम् च ।*

asked the meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, he would certainly first point to the sacred works which bear this name, and then refer to the meaning "forester," just as, I suppose, a European questioned on the sense of the word "Bible," would first say that it means "Testament," and then remember its etymological sense, "book." Yet Pāṇini merely speaks of *Āraṇyaka*, "the forester." No wonder that Kātyāyana supplies, in a Vārttika of his, the defect which must have struck him if, and since, he was acquainted with this portion of the sacred literature.¹²³ But is it possible to assume

¹²² Pāṇini, IV. 2, 129: *आरण्यकमुच्ये*.—Patanjali: *अथस्मिदमुच्यते मनुष्य इति*.—Kātyāyana: *पञ्चबायवायविहारमनुष्यइति* वक्तव्यम्.—Patanjali: *आरण्यकः पञ्चाः । आरन्वको ऽथायः । आरण्यको न्यायः । आरण्यको विहारः । आरण्यको मनुष्यः । आरण्यको इती*.—Kātyāyana: *वा नोमयेषु*.—Patanjali: *वा नोमयेविति वक्तव्यम् । आरण्यका नोमयाः । आरन्वा नोमयाः*. (Both Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, as if they did only occur in the Siddhanta-kaumudī). Professor Müller has pointed out that Pāṇini does not mention the principal meaning of *Āraṇyaka*, but expresses himself thus (page 339): "Whether Pāṇini knew the *Āraṇyaka* as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word

that Pāṇini could have known this sense of the word *Āraṇyaka*, when he is altogether silent on it; and if he did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time?

The acquaintance of Pāṇini with a Yajurveda is evidenced by several Sūtras of his.¹²³ But in speaking of a Yajurveda, he does not tell us whether he knew the *Black* as well as the *White* version, or only the *Black* version of it. That the former, which is considered as the literary property of the *Ṭittiri* school, is older in form and contents than the latter, the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*, requires no observation of mine, after the conclusive proofs which have been given by previous writers. To decide, however, whether Pāṇini had a knowledge of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā or not,—in other words, whether both versions of 'āraṇyaka,' he only uses it in the sense of 'living in the forest;' and it is the author of the Vārttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the sense of 'read in the forest.'"

¹²³ For instance, by the Sūtras II. 4, 4 (*adhvaryu*); VI. 1, 117; VII. 4, 38; VIII. 3, 104, etc.

this Veda are separated in time or not, by the Grammar of Páṇini, is a matter which touches closely on our present inquiry with regard to the chronological relation between Páṇini and Kátváyana.

In mustering the facts which bear on the solution of this question, we shall have, first, to observe that the word *Vājasaneyin* does not occur in a Sūtra of, but only as a formation in a *Gaṇa* to, Pāṇini (IV. 3. 106), while the formation of *Taittirīya*, from the base *Tvittiri*, is taught in a Sūtra (IV. 3. 102). There is, consequently, a *prima facie* doubt against Pāṇini's acquaintance with the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*.¹⁴ And this doubt is heightened by the cir-

¹⁸⁴ Professor Weber has already drawn attention to the fact that in the *Gaṇas* to Pāṇini only the first word may safely be ascribed to the knowledge of Pāṇini, since it is mentioned by himself; and I may add, those words of a Gaṇa, too, which are implicitly referred to by him; for instance, *इतर*, *इतम*, *इतर*, *इतम*, *इतर*, *इतम*, of the Gaṇa to I. 1, 27, adverted to in the *Sūtra* VII. 1, 25, which otherwise would be unintelligible. See also note 55. With these exceptions, we have no real certainty of deciding whether the words of a Gaṇa were those which Pāṇini had in view when he wrote; for not only are there considerable differences in the readings of the Gaṇa collections in existence,

cumstance that the sacred personage, also, who is believed to have collected not only the Sāṃhitá, but the Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, *Yájñavalkya*, is also not mentioned in the Sūtras of, but merely in the Ganas to, Páṇini.¹³

Since the question, however, whether Pāṇini knew the Vājasaneyi-Sāṃhitā, coincides with the question whether he had a knowledge of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, I will first quote a passage from Professor Müller's work, which, in a correct and lucid manner, describes the relation of Yājñavalkya to both these works:—"A comparison," he says (p. 353), "of the texts of the Taittirīyas and Vājasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake to call Yājñavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vājasaneyi-sāṃhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yājñavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brāhmaṇas into their present form, and, considering the differences but it is certain that these lists have been subject, at various periods, to various interpolations, which materially lessen their critical worth.

¹⁵⁶ In the *Gaṇas* to IV. 1, 105 and 2, 111.

between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charaṇas of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Kātyāyana says, in his Anukramanī, that Yājñavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun. In the same sense, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā."

If, then, we turn our attention to the word *Śatapatha*, we have again to state that it occurs only in a Gāna to V. 3, 100 (compare also note 105), but is not mentioned authentically in any Sūtra of Pāṇini. Yet Kātyāyana, I hold, has helped us to untie this knot, which has been drawn still tighter than it was by Professors Müller and Weber, in spite of the excellent counsel which the latter gives, "not to increase, by inattention, the darkness, which is great enough already in the history of Sanskrit literature."¹⁵⁶

A rule of Pāṇini's, which, literally translated, runs thus,

¹⁵⁶ Indische Studien, vol. I., p. 483: "We have already darkness enough in the

"amongst the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas* which have been proclaimed by an *Old one* (or by the *Old*)," ¹⁵⁷ teaches, in its connection with preceding rules, that names of *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kalpas* are formed by adding the (technical) affix *nini* (i.e. the real affix *in* with *Vṛddhi* in the base), to the proper name of the personage who proclaimed them, provided that such a personage is an *old* authority. Kaiyaṇa gives as an instance of a *Brāhmaṇa* so formed, the word *Sātyāyanin*, derived from *Sātyāyana*, the saint who proclaimed this *Brāhmaṇa*; and other instances are mentioned by Patanjali in his comment on a previous Sūtra. To this rule *Kātyāyana* added a *Vārtika*, which, according to the text in the Calcutta edition, would mean literally: "¹⁵⁸ In reference to *Yājñavalkya* and so on (there is) an exception, on account of the contemporaneous-

history of Hindu literature; let us abstain at least from increasing it through our own inattention!"

¹⁵⁷ IV. 3, 105: **पुराणप्रोक्तसु ब्राह्मणकल्पसु**, which words are completed by the Sūtras IV. 3, 101 and 103.

ness,"¹²⁸ and the comment on this additional rule is afforded by Patanjali, in the instance he gives: *Yājñavalkyaṇi Brāhmaṇāni*, where the Brāhmaṇa referred to the authorship of Yājñavalkya, is not formed by means of the (technical) affix *ṇini*, but by the (technical) affix *an* (i.e. *a*, with Vṛddhi in the base).

The great importance of this additional rule of Kātyāyana is obvious. It has been made the subject of several remarks in the "Indische Studien," where Professor Weber writes (vol. i. p. 57, note):—"By the Yājñavalkyaṇi-brāhmaṇāni [*Yājñavalkyaṇi*, as the "Indische Studien" writes it, is probably an error of the press] there [*i.e.* in the commentary of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105], and also in the *Vārtika*, and in IV. 2. 66, there can probably be meant none but the Çatapatha-brāhmaṇa, either the whole of it, or from XI. to XIV., which, therefore, Patanjali even did not consider as purāṇa-proktam [*i.e.* proclaimed by an old

authority]." Again (vol. i. p. 146), "A matter of importance is the distinct separation of Brāhmaṇas composed by the *Old* (purāṇa) IV. 3. 105, by which [expression], in contradistinction, the existence also of such as belong to a more recent time (tulyakālāni, says the *Vārtika*) is necessarily implied; amongst the latter, recent ones, the Yājñavalkyaṇi [the repeated error of the press, "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*," becomes suspicious] (comp. p. 57, note), and the Saulabhāni (otherwise unknown) Brāhmaṇāni are mentioned in the *Vārtika*; amongst the old ones, the scholiast there, (is it on Patanjali's authority? ¹²⁹) names the Bhāllavinaḥ and the Çātyāya-

¹²⁸ For this query of Professor Weber, compare note 139. But I cannot help asking how he reconciles the statement of the note to vol. I. p. 57, just quoted, where he speaks of Patanjali in terms of that assurance which can only proceed from personal knowledge,—with his repeated avowal of not having read the *Mahābhāṣya*, and with the text itself of p. 57 to which this note refers, since he is doubtful even there whether the Calcutta editors have taken their instances to IV. 3, 105 from Patanjali or not? As a guess, his attributing the words **याज्ञवल्क्यानि** to Patanjali happens to be quite correct; but it would have been certainly much better to give it distinctly as such, than leave us doubtful now as to the nature of other statements of his.

¹²⁹ *Vārtika* of the Calcutta edition to IV. 3, 105 : **याज्ञवल्क्यादिवः प्रतिविद्य-सुखावसानात्**.

ninah." And (vol. i. p. 177, *note*):—"Now we have seen (pp. 57 *note*, and 146) that the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni ["Yājñavalkyaṇi" again, which now becomes very suspicious], are considered by the author of the Vārtikas as *contemporaneous* with Pāṇini. The question, therefore, is whether by it [*i.e.* the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni] we have really to understand the Ṣaṭapatha-brāhmaṇa itself, or, in general, Brāhmaṇas only, which were *composed* by Yājñavalkya, or such as merely *treated* of him. In the former case, it would follow, too, from his proved contemporaneity with Uddālaka, and from Uddālaka's preceding Pāṇḍu, that the epoch of Pāṇḍu is later than that of Pāṇini." But (vol. ii. p. 393) he observes: "By the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmaṇāni¹⁰⁰ we, probably, have not to understand those [Brāhmaṇas] which have been *composed* by Yājñavalkya him-

¹⁰⁰ Professor Weber again writes "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*." Being compelled, therefore, to abandon the hypothesis of an error of the press, the more so as the same "*Yājñavalkyaṇi-brāhmaṇāni*" make their reappearance, in their *alphabetical place*, in his Index to the first two volumes of the "Indische Studien"—I must refer him for the correct form "*Yājñavalkāni*," to Pāṇini VI. 4, 151.—It is needless for me to say that

self, but those which merely *treated* of him; and a specimen of these is preserved us in the Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam of the Vṛihadarānyaka (see my Akad. Vorles. p. 125-26); therefore, if this [my] second view is correct, the contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka with Pāṇini, which is the necessary consequence of my first view, would fall to the ground, together with Pāṇini's preceding Pāṇḍu, whose priority in time is again the consequence of such a contemporaneity."¹⁰¹

There is nothing novel or remarkable in the circumstance of

the "*editor*" of Pāṇini likewise writes *याज्ञवल्क्यणि* IV. 2, 66 and 3, 105, intending probably to improve on the Calcutta edition, which IV. 3, 105 writes *याज्ञवल्क्यणि*, but IV. 2, 66 *याज्ञवल्क्यणि*. *Habent sua fata libelli*!

¹⁰¹ The self-quotation of Professor Weber (Akad. Vorles. p. 125, 126) need not be repeated here, since it merely contains the same conjecture that the *Yājñavalkāni* (correctly written in the Akad. Vorles., but re-quoted from this work "*Yājñavalkyaṇi*" in the Ind. Stud. vol. II. p. 390) *brāhmaṇāni* are the same as the *Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam* which *treats of* Yājñavalkya.—The text of the quotations given above, it is superfluous for me to mention, is in German. To save space I have confined myself to communicating merely a translation of it, which, I trust, no one will find wanting in strictest

Professor Weber's recanting on one page what he maintained with the most specious arguments on another, or of his leaving the bewildered reader between a chaos of what are to him established facts; but however interesting it may be thus to obtain from him an autobiography of his mind, and an insight into the state of maturity in which he presents us with his researches, I must, this time, defend him against himself, and show that, *within the sphere of his own presumptive facts*, there is not the slightest ground for immolating by his last conjecture the statements contained in the first three quotations from his essays. ✓

The exception made by Kātyāyana to the rule of Pāṇini (IV. 3, 105) is contained in the word *Yājñavalkya*, as we learn from the authentic comment of Patañjali. There is no proof, whatever, that it can extend to any other derivative of Yājñavalkya. Whatever, therefore, be the import of the word *Yājñavalkya*, the *fairness and literal accuracy*. The words between brackets, marked [], are my own parenthetical explanations, as the reader will easily see for himself. The italics in the quotation are Professor Weber's own.

Yājñavalkya *kāṇḍam* has nothing to do with the *Yājñavalkya* *brāhmaṇi* mentioned by Patañjali in reference to our Vārttika. But, in the second instance, the word *pratiśedha*, or "exception," used by Kātyāyana necessarily concerns works of the *same category*. As little as an author could, for instance, call geology an exception to astronomy, as little, I hold, could Kātyāyana speak of an "exception" to names of Brāhmaṇas when he had in his mind, as Professor Weber thinks, the name of a particular chapter of an Aranyaka. And thirdly, this same word 'exception' in the Vārttika must likewise concern the *proclaiming* of such a work by the personage who becomes the base of the derivative; for Pāṇini uses the word *prokta* "proclaimed," distinctly enough in the Śūtra which is criticized by the Vārttika. There would be no "exception," if the formation alluded to by Kātyāyana, meant a work "*treating of*" the personage who is the base of the derivative. But, when Professor Weber, in his "Akademische Vorlesungen" (pp. 125, 126) crowns his syllogism by the remark that he prefers his last conjecture because it "appears, indeed, extremely ticklish (bedenk-

lich)" to him "to consider the whole Çatapathabrāhmaṇa or as much as its last books, as bearing distinctly the name of Yājñavalkya—however much it may contain his system [?]—or as contemporaneous with, or as preceding even by little, Pāṇini's time;" and when he adds, in the fulness of his authority, "but for the Yājñavalkyam-kāṇḍam I have not the slightest hesitation in doing the latter" [*Letzteres zu thun*,—what latter?], I fear I should overstep the limits of *scientific* criticism, if I attached a single remark to a passage like this, which treats its readers as if the personal feelings of Professor Weber had all the weight of scientific arguments, and deals with one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature in such a manner as if it were matter for table talk.

Before I proceed in my observations on the point at issue, I will state the views of Professor Müller on this Vārttika. He writes (p. 353): "In the same sense Pāṇini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to IV. 3, 105, that there were modern Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmaṇas,"

and (p. 363): "It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājñavalkyas in the same sense as we speak of the Pāṭiriyas, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmaṇas, are called Yājñavalkyaṇi [*sic*] Brāhmaṇāni. And why?" says Kātyāyana; 'because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves.'

Where, I must now ask, does Kātyāyana speak of Brāhmaṇas "more ancient" than the Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya? and where, I must further ask, does he say that the latter are "almost" contemporaneous? Again, what proof has Professor Weber that Kātyāyana meant by contemporaneous, as he says (see above, p. 134), *contemporaneous with Pāṇini*? and what proof has Professor Müller that Kātyāyana implied by this word, *contemporaneous with himself*? Assuredly, all these questions ought to have been settled first, and by very substantial proofs, before an edifice of chronology was allowed to be built on them. Not only does Kātyāyana nowhere indicate a *degree*, either in the relative age of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and those subject to the

Sūtra of Pāṇini, or in the contemporaneity of the former with him,—but, in my opinion, the word *pratishedha*, “*exception*,” already adverted to, is altogether fatal to the ellipsis supplied by Professors Weber and Müller when they refer to the word *contemporaneous*. This word “*exception*” clearly proves that Kātyāyana could never have held the dialogue with which Müller enlivens the scene of the Vārttika. For if the Brāhmanas spoken of in the Vārttika, were contemporaneous with Pāṇini or with Kātyāyana, the Vārttika would have made an *addition*, not an *exception* to the rule of Pāṇini, since the latter merely treats of such Brāhmanas as are *old* from his point of view, and is no wise concerned with any Brāhmanas of *his* time.

In short, the Vārttika can, on account of the word *exception*, convey no other sense than that Pāṇini himself was guilty of an inaccuracy, by omitting to state that the Brāhmanas which had been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya (and others) were exempt from his Sūtra IV. 3, 105, *these Brāhmanas being as old as those which he had in view when he gave this rule.*

Did the words of the Vārttika, such as they are printed in the Calcutta edition, admit of the slightest doubt—if interpreted properly,—or had the inferences drawn from them been propounded with less consequence, and did not the discussion I have raised concern a principle, viz. the method of examining the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, the course I should have taken, in refuting the opinion of Professors Weber and Müller would have been a different one. I should have at once stated the fact, that the inadvertence of the Calcutta editors of Pāṇini—(need I repeat that Dr. Boehtlingk's reprint is as conscientious in this case as in all analogous instances?)—has skipped *two words* which belong to the Vārttika,—words, which, indeed, are not absolutely required for a correct understanding of the Vārttika, but the presence of which would have prevented as much as the possibility of a misconception, however inattentive the reader of the Vārttika might be. These words are no other than the words of Pāṇini's Sūtra itself, which Kātyāyana, no doubt with the distinct purpose of obviating the very possibility of a misunder-

standing, has embodied again in his Vārttika in placing them before his own critical remark. In short, the Vārttika runs thus : "Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas, which are proclaimed by an old one (or by the *old*), there is an exception in reference to Yājñavalkya, on account of the contemporaneousness," viz., of *these latter Brāhmanas with the old Brāhmanas spoken of by Pāṇini*. In this sense, then, Patanjali remarks, after having named the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and Sulabha, "Why (is there an exception to these ?) 'On account of the contemporaneousness ;' that is to say, because they, *too*, are of the same time ;" and Kaiyaṣa adds : '*because they belong to the same time as the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Śātyāyana, and so on.*'" 102

102 Pāṇini, IV. 3, 105 : पुराब्रह्मण्युः—Kātyāyana : पुराब्रह्मण्युः ब्राह्मण्युः याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यत्वात्.—Patanjali : पुराब्रह्मण्युः ब्राह्मण्युः याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि । सीकभाषीति । किं कारणम् । तुल्यत्वात् । एतावत्यि तुल्यत्वाभाषीति.—Kaiyaṣa : तुल्यत्वात् । किं भाषायादिमोक्षिर्ब्रह्मण्युः । For the sake of greater clearness, and in

The ground on which we now stand is once more the ground we have occupied before. And when I previously asked whether it is likely that Pāṇini could have blundered in conjugating or declining a common word, or whether he was not proficient enough to use the expression "eatable," or whether he could have ignored the meaning of Āraṇyaka,—I must now add the question whether he was likely to give a rule which, by an essential omission, would have vitiated the name of a principal Brāhmana ? Could he have ignored that name which stands foremost amongst all the authors

order to anticipate any objection, I will mention, that the Sūtra of Pāṇini itself precedes the words of the Vārttika in the MS. E.I.H. 330, whence this passage is quoted ; so that there can be no assumption of a meaningless or careless repetition of the words पुराब्रह्मण्युः ब्राह्मण्युः. Moreover, the beginning of Patanjali's commentary on the Vārttika, and his method of commenting, as explained above, is sufficient to remove all doubt—if any still existed—that they belong to the Vārttika.—Professor Benfey, too, is therefore mistaken, when, in his learned and valuable "*Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache*" (§ 519) he says, "it has been explicitly stated [viz. by our Vārttika] that Yājñavalkya and some others do not belong to the *old*."

of Brāhmaṇas? So much so, that we have heard only by name of the Brāhmaṇas of Bhaḷlu, Śātyāyana, and Sulabha; but are full of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, proclaimed by Yājñavalkya?

In my belief there is but this alternative: either Patañjali, who mentions the Bhāḷlavins, together with other Brāhmaṇas, in his comment on the Vārttika 26 to IV. 2, 104, is correct in saying that the Brāhmaṇa of Yājñavalkya is coeval with them, in this case all these Brāhmaṇas must have been unknown to Pāṇini, and other Brāhmaṇas must have been before his mind's eye, when he wrote the Sūtra IV. 3, 105; or Pāṇini *did* know and *meant* to imply in his rule the Brāhmaṇa of Bhaḷlu, and of others named by Patañjali,—then the error must be on Patañjali's side, when he asserts that Yājñavalkya was their contemporary. I say purposely, it must be an error of Patañjali, for there is no evidence to show that Kātyāyana alluded to *Bhaḷlu*, for instance, when he speaks of contemporaries of Yājñavalkya; he may have referred, for aught we know, to proper names belonging to other old authorities—old

from Pāṇini's point of view; and his error would then have consisted in making Yājñavalkya the contemporary of the personages who were the authors of those old works.

Yet both—the error of Patañjali and the error of Kātyāyana—become explainable on the assumption that there is *such a considerable period of time between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and much more so between Pāṇini and Patañjali* that Kātyāyana even could consider as “old” that which was not only not old, but in all probability did not yet exist in Pāṇini's time.

It is curious, though I lay no stress on this circumstance, that the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* should *pass over in silence the whole Vārttika of Kātyāyana*, but should, in giving the counter-instance, “Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni,” add: “Why does this rule of Pāṇini (restrict the formation of Brāhmaṇa-names with the affix *in*) to those Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by the ‘old’?” Because the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya, etc., are called Yājñavalkāni Brāhmaṇāni, etc.; for, *according to legendary reports, these and similar Brāhmaṇas do not belong to a*

remote time.¹⁸ Thus, on traditional grounds—which we should have thanked Jayāditya if he had designated in more precise terms—the Kāśikā, too, discards the notion of the *Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇa* being an exception to the much-quoted rule of Pāṇini. On the contrary, it looks, as we see, on the derivative *Yājñavalkya* as a counter-instance, which confirms the statement of Pāṇini; but, I hold that this commentary was wanting in judgment when it passed over in silence the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, since the latter, by its very mistaken reproach, affords us a valuable means of judging on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

Before I support with further arguments the conclusions I have drawn with regard to this chronological relation between the two grammarians, it will be expedient to take a cursory view of the

¹⁸ The commentary of the Kāśikā on this Sūtra which, as in general, is much better and more clearly worded than the comment of the Calcutta Pandits, runs thus (MS. E.I.H. 2440): *प्रत्ययार्थविशेषबन्धितत् । गुतीवासमर्षात्मोक्ते विनिप्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रतीकं पुराब्रह्मोक्तं चेत् । ब्राह्मणकल्पासौ भवन्ति । पुराब्रह्म चिरन्तनविषया प्रोक्तं पुरा-*

principal categories of known ancient writings not already mentioned; acquaintance with which, on the one hand, is shown by Pāṇini himself; and the existence of which, on the other, may either be assumed to fall within a period not very distant from the time when Pāṇini wrote, or in his time, to be open to doubt, on account of the reasons previously alleged.

Since Pāṇini teaches, in the rule I have so often referred to, that all ancient Brāhmaṇas and Kalpa works bear names which end in the (technical) affix *ṇini*, the names of the former by the common consent of all commentators, ancient and modern, being used in the plural only, we are justified in inferring that none of the works of the category now preserved in manuscript, so far as my knowledge

ब्रह्मोक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु तावत् । भाष्यविक्रयः । शास्त्रावनिवः (should be शास्त्रावनिवः) । ऐतरेयविक्रयः । कल्युष । पितृनी कल्युषः । शास्त्रपर्यायी । पुराब्रह्मोक्तेति विम । याच्य वल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि । याच्यः कल्युषः । याच्यस्कादवो हि न चिरकाया इत्याद्या-
नेषु वाती । I may add, that the Siddhānta-kaumudī also makes no mention of the Vārtika of Kātyāyana, but, in reference to our question, merely contains these words (p. 81 b. line 1): *पुराब्रह्मोक्तेति विम । याच्यवल्कानि (miseditied याच्यवल्कानि) ब्राह्मणानि*.

goes, are ancient works from Pāṇini's point of view. That one of them, at least, the Kalpa work of Kātyāyana, cannot have existed in Pāṇini's time, would be the consequence of the foregoing inquiry; but I should not venture to say more than I have said of the other ritual books of the same category.

Again, if the conclusion I drew as to Pāṇini's not having been acquainted with the *Āraṇyakas* be correct, it would imply, of necessity, that the *Upanishads* could not have existed when he lived, since they are a further development of this class of works; and this conclusion, again, strengthens the arguments I have adduced for the non-existence, in Pāṇini's time, of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā, arranged by Yājñavalkya; for an important Upanishad, the *Īśa-Upanishad*, is the last portion of this version of the Yajurveda.¹⁴

¹⁴ Pāṇini mentions the word *Upanishad* once, viz. I. 4, 79, but not in the sense of a sacred work. It occurs twice in the Gāṇas, viz., to IV. 3, 73 and 4, 12; in the former it has the sense of such a work, but it is doubtful whether it has in the latter also.—In a note at page 325, Professor Müller gives a detailed account of the history of *Anquetil's*

That Pāṇini was conversant, not only with a *Black Yajur-*

Perron's Oupnekhat, "which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin." Since his bibliographical sketch cannot fail to be of much interest and use to many of his readers, it will not be superfluous to correct a mistake of his when he states that the *French translation* of Anquetil du Perron was "not published." It was not published *entirely*; but in the well-known work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil, Rennell, and Bernoulli: "*Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, etc. *Berlin*; vol. I. second edition, 1791; vol. II. 1786; vol. III. 1788," the second part of the second volume contains his translation "en français barbare," as the author himself calls it, of the "*Oupnekhat Narāṇa (tiré de l'Ātharva Beid*" (p. 297 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat tadiv (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 301 ff.); of the "*Oupnekhat Atharva (tiré de l'Ātharva Beid*" (p. 308 ff.) and of the "*Oupnekhat Schat Roudri (tiré de Djedjr Beid*" (p. 323 ff.). The same volume also contains an interesting paper of his: "*nouvelles preuves que l'Oupnekhat ne parle nulle part du Kalongam, ni des trois autres longams*" (Table des Articles; p. 548 ff.).—There is another work, published anonymously, which comprises, besides other interesting matter, translations in German of portions of Oriental works; the first volume of this work—the only one that appeared, I believe—bears the title "*Sammlung Asiatischer Original-Schriften.—Indische Schriften.—Zürich*, 1791," and contains, amongst others, a German translation of the first three Upanishads published in the work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil du Perron, etc. As this volume is curious and of great scarcity, I subjoin a list of its contents, as given by the

veda,¹⁰⁵ but with a *Rig-* and a *Sāma-veda*, is borne out by several author himself : “ *Begegnungem. Tractat. Der Telepoeng Reg. Patimuk. Des Fo. Buch. Upackhat. Mahabarat. Ind. Raschah. Amertkend. Bedang Schauten. Dirm Schuter: Neadiren. Götter Verzeichniss. Schattah-Bade. Londa Schauter. Tervamalei. Remensuram. Remensuram Phil. Gespräch. Sastirum.* ”—A note appended to the translation of the “ *Upackhat Athrbsar*, ” at p. 286 of this work, drew my attention to “ *A prayer directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being ; written originally in the Sanscrit language, and translated by C. W. Boughton Rowe, Esq. ; from a Persian Version of Dara Shikoh, a son of Jah Schah, Emperor of Hindostan*, ”—which prayer is appended to the “ *Institutes of Timour*, ” by Joseph White (Oxford, 1783); for the note in question says that this prayer is a free and abridged version, from the Persian, of the same *Upackhat Athrbsar* (or *Upanishad Atharvasūtras*). But having compared them, I cannot convince myself that such is the case; though the ideas expressed in both compositions have much similarity.—In passing, I may mention, also, that this same prayer attracted the attention of the “ *Monthly Review* of 1783, ” and, in consequence, that of August Hensings in his interesting work, “ *Versuch einer Ostindischen Litteratur-Geschichte nebst einer kritischen Beurtheilung der Aechtheit der Zend-Bücher.* ” *Hamburg und Kiel*, 1786.” This work, which is extremely rare, bears testimony to the extensive scholarship of its author; it gives a critical review—more or less detailed—of 114 works, and has an Appendix, entitled “ *Grundlage zu einem vollständigen Verzeichnisse aller Schriften die Ostindien und die damit verbundene*

Sūtras of his. We may expect, too, that he, like every other Hindu, looked upon the *Rigveda* as the principal Veda; and this assumption is confirmed by the circumstance of his calling a *Páda* of the *Rigveda* simply the “ *Páda*, ” without the addition of the word *Rik*.¹⁰⁶ But there is no evidence to show that he knew an *Atharvaveda*. The word *átharvan*, it is true, occurs three times, but only in the *Ganas* to his rules, and there even only as the name of a priest. We may add, also, that the word *átharvanika* is found in two Sūtras (IV. 3, 133, and VI. 4, 174), where it is ex-

Länder betreffen. In alphabetischer Ordnung als ein Anhang zur Litteratur-Geschichte Ostindiens. Hamburg. ” This Appendix contains the titles of not less than 1372 works of the 16th, 17th, and 18th century, referring to the history, “ *antiquities*, nations, languages, religions, and the natural history of India, ” many of which are unknown not only to me, but to several Oriental scholars, librarians, and bibliographers whom I have consulted about them.

¹⁰⁵ See note 153.

¹⁰⁶ For his knowledge of the *Rigveda*, compare VI. 3, 55, 133; VII. 4, 39, etc.; for the occurrence of *páda*, VI. 1, 115; VII. 1, 57; VIII. 1, 18, etc.; for *Sāmaneda*, I. 2, 34; IV. 2, 7; V. 2, 59, etc.

plained by Pāṇjali as meaning "the office and the sacred record of the Atharvan,"—that Pāṇjali confirms the occurrence of the word *atharvan* in the Gāṇa to the Sūtra IV. 2, 63, where it can only mean a literary work; and, besides, that the word *átharvāna* occurs twice in the Gāṇas.¹⁵⁷ Yet even the testimony of Pāṇjali cannot entirely remove the uncertainty which, as we have seen above, must always adhere to the Gāṇas as evidence for or against Pāṇini, with the exception of their first word, mentioned by himself, or such of their words as are referred to by other rules of his. Nor does the occurrence of the word *átharvāṇika* in the two Sūtras

¹⁵⁷ For *Átharvāna*, see the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63; (it occurs, too, in a Vārtika to IV. 3, 133). For *Átharvāṇika*, IV. 3, 133; VI. 4, 174 and the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60; for *Átharvāna* the Gāṇas to IV. 2, 38 and 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60.—On IV. 3, 133, Pāṇjali remarks, after the words of the Sūtra: . . . **आथर्वतो यमः । आथर्वं च आवायः । इत्याथर्ववाच्यम् । आथर्वविवाच्ये च चतुर्वहसं क्रियते । वसनादिवचनं च आथर्ववचनम्** (comp. IV. 2, 63) **यथा ते वहे ज्यादे** (VI. 4, 174) **प्रकृतिमावाच्ये यदहं क्रियते** etc.

quoted necessarily confirm the interpretation of Pāṇjali. It may there only mean the office of an Atharvan priest, who, probably, was employed in the performance of sacrificial acts. In short, there is no valid ground for attributing to Pāṇini a knowledge of the fourth and least sacred Veda, the Atharvaveda; and this doubt derives some additional weight from the fact that, though the word *Angiras*, one of the reputed Rishis of the Atharvaveda, is mentioned in a Sūtra (II. 4. 65), neither the compound *Átharvāngirasas*, nor its derivative, *Átharvāngirasa*, is met with in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, though the former is the name, as well of the two seers of the Atharvaveda, as especially of the hymns of this Veda itself,—while the latter means the observances connected with the Atharvaveda, and would have deserved a place amongst grammatical rules. ✓

In the last chapter of his learned work, Professor Müller gives instances of hymns which he considers as belonging to the oldest portion of Vaidik literature. It seems difficult to follow his arguments so as to arrive at a settled conviction on this point; for the

reasons he gives in assigning these hymns to the earliest portions of Hindu poetry rest on impressions so individual, that assent or dissent of those who read the Rîgveda hymns will depend much on their own disposition. I should, for instance, for my part, hesitate very much to assign to a hymn which speaks of thirty-three gods¹⁰⁰ a place amongst the most ancient hymns, since it betrays, in my opinion, a very artificial and developed condition of religiousness, and a considerable deviation from what I hold to be the primitive feeling of the human mind. The impression I derive from another hymn, a poetical version of which Professor Müller gives (p. 564), and a prose translation of which we owed already to Colebrooke (Misc. Ess. I. p. 33), would be to the same effect,—that it belongs, not to the earliest, but to the very latest hymns of the Rîgveda-Saṁhitā; for it seems to me that a song which begins, "There was no entity, nor non-entity death was not, nor was there immortality;" and concludes: "Then who can

know whence it proceeded, or whence this varied world arose, or whether it uphold itself, or not? He who, in the highest heaven, is the ruler of this universe, does indeed know, but not another can possess that knowledge"—it seems to me that such a song must be already the result of the greatest struggles of the human heart: the full-grown fruit of a long experience in thought,—in other words, that it marks the end, and not the beginning, of a phase of religious development.

I agree with Müller in one important point, viz. (p. 566): that "the evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vêdic hymns," and I should have agreed with him still more if he had said that it is the only safe criterion with a European of the nineteenth century to settle this point. Therefore, when he adds that "the occurrence of such a word as *tadânîm* is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this [last-named] hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it,"—though I do not share the opinion expressed in his latter words,—I hold the adverb he men-

¹⁰⁰ Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 531.

tions to be quite sufficient authority for removing this hymn from the earliest portion of Hindu songs.

But setting aside our personal feelings, which, after all, are of no consequence, we cannot be indifferent about learning what Pāṇini considered to be the older or the more recent Vaidik hymns. A direct opinion on this point we can scarcely expect to obtain from himself; but indirect evidence of his own impressions, or, more probably, of the tradition current in his time, I believe may be collected from his Sūtras; and, however scanty it be, and however much we may think we may be able, without his aid, to arrive at a similar result in regard to the hymns I am going to name, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here. The hymns of the Rīg-veda—and, consequently, those collected from it for the version of the Sāma-, and the two other Vedas—were “seen,” as I have shown above (p. 62), by the Rishis, who received them from a divinity. This general belief was, as I there proved, shared in by Pāṇini, who, therefore, was not so unshackled by the inspiration-doctrine as Professor Müller represents him to have been in his

discussion on old and new Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰⁰ But there is a marked difference in the language he uses when speaking at one time of one category, and, at another, of another category of hymns; and it is this difference which induces me to express a doubt whether he looked upon all Vaidik hymns as *immediate* revelations from above.

In his Sūtras IV. 2, 7 to 9, he teaches the formation of words expressing the name of Sāmaveda-hymns, and he applies to the latter the word “*seen*,” *i.e.*, received by inspiration from the divinity. In the Sūtra IV. 3, 101, on the other hand, he heads a chapter, which comprises the next ten rules, with the words, “*promulgated by him*,” which words imply that the Vaidik compositions—the names of which he teaches the student to form in these rules—were *promulgated* by the Rishis, whose names are the bases of the several derivatives.¹⁰⁰ That these two different expressions were

¹⁰⁰ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 361 : “Pāṇini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration-doctrines which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mīmāṃsā school, broadly states the fact that there are old and new Brāhmaṇas, etc.”

¹⁰⁰ IV. 2, 7 : दृष्टं साम .—IV. 3, 101 : तेन प्रोक्तम् .—Praudhāmanoramā : प्रकृतेर्ब्रह्मणे

chosen by Pāṇini deliberately, results from the contents of the last-named rules. They contain amongst others (IV. 3, 105), names of Kalpa works, which, at no period of the Hindu religion, were "seen" or ascribed to superhuman authorship. This word "proclaimed" has also been noticed especially by Kātyāyana and Patanjali, who judge as follows of its import in these rules:—*Kātyāyana*: "(It might seem that) this word 'proclaimed' is purposeless, since no affix is visible in (certain) derivatives (which imply its sense)."—*Patanjali*: "Why is it purposeless? 'Because,' says Kātyāyana, 'no affix is visible.' That is to say, if 'proclaimed' means that the Vaidik version of the Kalāpas or Kāthas is recited village for village, a derivative implying such a sense has no (special) affix."—*Kātyāyana*: "(It is purposeless, too) if applied to the sense 'book,' for (in this case) an affix is taught (elsewhere)."—*Patanjali*: "There is an affix, if the

प्रोक्तम् । अत्रादनेनार्थवाक्यानि वा प्रकाशितमित्यर्थः । प्रकथयति वचनाद्वेह । द्वेदनेनाधारितम्. Compare the following note.

sense 'composed, as a book,' is implied by it; but such an affix is provided for by another rule of Pāṇini, viz., IV. 3, 116. Could we, then, consider this word 'proclaimed' (in our rule) as used in reference to the Veda? But again, the Vedas are not made (like a book); they are permanent (or eternal)."—*Kātyāyana*: "If (however, one should assert that this word) concerns the Veda, (he would be correct, provided that he meant to impart to the word 'proclaimed') a *figurative* sense."—*Patanjali* (after repeating these latter words): "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not made, but that they are permanent (i.e., eternal)?' (Quite so); yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same; and it is through the difference in the latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kāthas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on."¹⁷ Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of

¹⁷ Pāṇini: तेन प्रोक्तम्.—*Kātyāyana*: प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तत्रादर्शनात्.—*Patanjali*: प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम् । किं कारकम् । तत्रादर्शनात् । अस्मि यस्मि वाचापकं वाठकं च

Patanjali's accounting for the various versions of the Vaidik texts, it is evident that Pāṇini—who comprises Kalpas under the term "proclaimed"—looked upon the works, the names of which

प्रोचते । न तत्र प्रलयो दृश्यते.—Kātyāyana : यन्त्रे च दर्शनात्.—Patanjali : यत्र दृश्यते यन्त्रः स भवति तत्र कृते यन्त्र इत्येव सिद्धम् (IV. 3, 116) । छन्दो-र्थं तर्हीदं यत्तन्त्रम् । न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते । गितानि छन्दांसि.—Kātyāyana : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारम्.—Patanjali : छन्दो-र्थमिति चेपुकारमिति ववति । [The MS. contains here a repetition, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist] ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते गितानि छन्दासीति । यद्यप्यर्थो गितः । या तस्यी यवी-नुपूर्वी यागिता तद्देदीतवति काठवं कात्यायकं मीदकं घेपकादकमिति । न तर्हीदानीमिदं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्तन्त्रं च । किं प्रयोक्तवम् । यत्नेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृतम् । माधुरी [cf. Kātyāyana : माधुरी] युक्तिः । यदि तर्हि (त)स्य निवधनमसि । इदमेव यत्तन्त्रम् । तदयवशं यत्तन्त्रम् । यत्नेन कृतं न च प्रोक्तं वाररुचं कात्यम् । चायूक्षाः दोषाः.—Kātyāyana : प्रपूर्वो यचितः प्रकाशने ऽध्यायनरूपे वा वर्तते करणी वा । तत्राथे ऽर्हे प्रलयो न दृश्यते । द्वितीये तु सूत्रान्तरेण (i.e. IV. 3, 116) सिद्धमिति मलाह । प्रोक्तयहवमिति याम् इति । सुशमीदीनां प्रतिषामं प्रवक्तुले ऽपि सुशमीनां प्रोक्तं काठकमवीचमिति [probably : काठकम् । सौ०] प्रयोक्तो न दृश्यते

are taught in these rules, not as having been "seen" or received *immediately* from the divinity. They must, in his mind, therefore, belong to a later period than the Sāmaveda hymns which he treats

रत्त्वर्थः । गितानीति । कर्तुरकारणसिधमिति भावः । या स्याविति । महाप्रलयया दिगु यवीनुपूर्वीविनाशे पुनरुत्पत्त्य (MS. पुनरुत्पत्त्य) कृत्तवः संस्कारातिशयादेदार्ये कुत्वा शब्दरचना विदधतीत्यर्थः (MS. विदधतीत्यर्थः) । तन्नेदादिति । आनुपूर्वीभिदादित्यर्थः । ततश्च काठायो वेदानुपूर्वः कर्तार एव ननु सिता एव सुशमीदिवात्मवत्कारः । ततश्च छन्दस्त्वपि कृते यन्त्र इत्येव (IV. 3, 116) सिद्धः प्रलय इति भावः । माधुरीति । माधुरेव प्रथमतः प्रकाशितेत्यर्थः । (IV. 3, 108) कवापिनो ऽखिलान्यहस्याधिकविधानार्थं काठकादयचारमवति (MS. ०र्थकादुक्ता०) । द्विविधं चेह प्रोक्तं युक्तं परकृतं स्व(क)तं वा यत्प्रकाशितं तेन प्रोक्ताधिकार एव काठायो यत्तन्त्राद्यवविधानम्.—Kātyāyana : तेन प्रोक्तम् । कात्यायककाठकोनोचरकाठानु (IV. 3, 120) धर्मी-चाययोरीति बोध्यम् । प्रपूर्वो वचिरिति । अध्यायनरूपे प्रकाशने वा [both MSS. of the E. I. H., No. 350 and 1209, in the same order] वर्तते करणे येत्यन्वयः । ननु काठकगितादी प्रलयदर्शनात् प्रलयो दृश्यते इत्यनुपपन्नमत आह । सुशमीदीनामिति । भाष्ये यन्त्रे चेति तेन कृते यन्त्र इत्यर्थः (IV. 3, 116) । यन्त्रः स इति तेन कृतो यन्त्रः स इत्यर्थः । अथेन वेदस्य गितत्वं स्वीकृत्यग्रेवागितत्वाह । यद्यप्यर्थ इति । कृतेन

of in the rules IV. 2. 7-9 as having been "*seen*." Nor would there be anything remarkable in this view, if it merely referred to the Brāhmaṇa works which also are the subject of his rules; for this

वेदसं शब्दाभौमवपुतिधनितम् (MS. 1209 °नितिधः; perhaps °नितिरितिधः) ।
 ननु याता यथा पूर्वमकस्यदितादिभुतिवसेनागुण्यं चि वेति नवपूर्वमीमां-
 साविद्याकात्सा नितिलगुण्यमत आह । महाप्रसवादिधिति । आगुण्योक्तान्तव-
 चदितलेनानितिलमिति भाव इति केचित् । तत्र । यद्यप्यर्चो नित्य इत्यादिवाक्येष्व-
 विरोधात् । अर्चस्वादिभ्योतिदोमादेरनित्यत्वात् । प्रवाहाविच्छेदेन नित्यत्वं तुमचोर-
 यि तत्तावन्वन्मादेनागुण्यं भिन्नम् । प्रतिमन्वन्तरं यथा भुतिरन्वा विधीयत रसुत्ति-
 र्भित्तये । परे तु । अर्चो नित्य इत्यत्र कृतकत्वविरोधनित्यत्वस्यैवागुण्यमः पूर्वपक्षि-
 तादृशनित्यत्वस्यैव चन्दःसुत्तिः । एवं चार्चशब्देनाचरः । मुक्ततया तस्मैव सर्ववेदतात्प-
 र्यविवक्षतात् । इदं च सर्वैरुच्येव चेत् इति सीतोक्तैरित्याहुः (XV. 15) । यद्योगुण्यो-
 क्तनित्यत्वे साकमाह तद्वेदवेति । अनित्यत्ववाक्यभेदेन तत्सिद्धिः । भेदो ऽत्र नाभासम् ।
 ईदरे तु न नाभासं (? MSS. यत्तत्त्वं?) । भेदे साकं व्यवहारमाह । काठकोशादि । अर्च-
 को ऽप्यागुण्यमिदादेव काठकावाक्यादिव्यवहार इति भावः । अत्रागुण्यनित्यसुत्तिः
 पदानि तावदेति धनितं तदाह । ततश्च कटादय इत्यधिकं मञ्जूपायां द्रष्टव्यम् । ननु
 माधुरावृक्षाक्षेप भाव्यमत आह (comp. IV. 2, 114) । अत्रापि नो ऽस्ति (IV. 3, 108) ।

class of inspired literature is looked upon by all the authorities as being inferior in degree, and, I hold therefore, less immediate, as an emanation than the hymns of the Saṁhitās. But there

नन्वेवं कटादिभ्यः प्रोक्ताधिकारं प्रत्ययविधानं चर्चम् । तत्र । यत्प्रोक्तं न च तेष कृत-
 मित्यर्थवाचादत्त आह । द्विविधं चेति प्रोक्ताधिकार एवेति । कृतयहमेव साप्रकाशि-
 तल्लक्षतस्मैव ग्रहयदिति भावः. [Obvious mis-spellings in the MSS.—especially in
 MS. 350, which here is more indifferent than MS. 1209—whence this passage is taken
 have been left unnoticed by me. The text here given is, in my opinion, as correct as the
 MSS. in question will allow to edit it.]

I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators on this important
 Sūtra and its Vārtikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects and, at
 the same time, bears out my statement at page 65. We see Kaiyaṣa and Nāgajibhaṭṭa
 writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences
 of its various versions, which nevertheless maintain an equal claim to infallibility.
 Patanjali makes rather short work of this much vexed question; and unless it be
 allowed here to render his expression *seṛya* (which means "letter"), "word," it is
 barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or per-
 manence of the "sense" of the Veda. That the modern Mimāṁsists maintain not
 only the "eternity of the sense" but also the "permanence of the text," which is
 tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others,
 from Nāgajibhaṭṭa. But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in

occurs in midst of these rules one (IV. 3, 106) which contains the word *Chhandas*, which, being contradistinguished from the word *Bráhmaṇa* in the preceding rule (IV. 3, 105), cannot have there any other sense than that of *Mantra*, as I have shown above; or, if it should be thought that it is contrasted there with *Kalpa* as well as with *Bráhmaṇa* in the preceding rule, it would mean *Veda* in general—*Mantra and Bráhmaṇa*. And, in connection with this

by the old *Mīmāṃsists*, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself. He and Kaiyaṣa inform us therefore that, *amongst other theories*, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or, rather, words) in the Vaidik texts got lost in the several *Pralayas* or destructions of the worlds; and, since each *Manwantara* had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidik texts, the various versions known to these commentators represent these successive revelations which were “remembered,” through “their excessive accomplishments,” by the Rishis, who, in this manner, produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the Kaṭhas, Kalápas, and so on. In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity. There is a very interesting discussion on the same subject by *Kumārila*, in his *Mīmāṃsā-Pāṭīkā* (I. 3, 10). I forbear, however, quoting it on the present occasion on account of its great length, and because I hope to be able to give it in a more appropriate place.

word Páṇini writes, “*Śaunaka*.” Śaunaka, however, we know, from Sáyana’s commentary on the Rigveda and the Anukramanī, was the Rishi who is supposed to be the author of the second *Mandala*, as we now possess it, though in a former version it appears to have belonged to the Rishi Gṛitsamada.¹⁷³

Should, then, my view of Páṇini’s rule be correct, it will follow that Páṇini considered this second *Mandala* as of a later date than the other *Mandalas*; and we cannot but admit that even the first hymn of the second *Mandala* fully confirms this impression, for, by speaking of Hotri, Potri, Neshtri, Agnídhra, Prasástri, Adhwaryu, and Bráhmaṇa priests, it certainly betrays a very advanced development of sacrificial and artificial rites.

Mīmāṃsá is a word of special grammatical interest, not in so

¹⁷³ Compare *Sáyana* in the beginning of his commentary on the second *Mandala*; Professor Wilson’s detailed account in his translation, vol. ii., p. 207; and Professor Müller’s *Ancient Literature*, pp. 231, 232; as well as the corresponding passage from *Shadguruśishya*, at p. 237.

far as its affix *á* is concerned—for the latter belongs to a general category of derivatives dealt with by Pāṇini in his rule III. 3, 102—but on account of the irregular formation of its base. It must be admitted that the Sūtra I. 3, 62 may be looked upon as including this base also; but whether the instance *mīmāns*, given by the commentators, has there the general sense of *considering*, or the special sense of the philosophical reasoning of the Mīmāṃsā, cannot be inferred from the general tenor of this rule. This latter sense is emphatically expressed by two words derived from *mīmāns*, viz., *Mīmāṃsā*, the name of the philosophy; and *Mīmāṃsaka*, a Mīmāṃsā philosopher. Neither word occurs in Pāṇini.¹⁷³ Nor

¹⁷³ Even Kātyāyana gives no Vārtika to teach the formation of *mīmāṃsaka*, though this word is of some interest from a grammatical point of view. Amongst those words which designate followers of a doctrine or philosophy, it is the only one formed with a *kṛt*-affix. It occurs, e.g. as an instance of Paṇanjalī, to I. 2, 64, v. 17, II. 2, 29, and in a Kārikā of the latter to III. 2, 123, where it is rendered by Kaiyaṇa *etichāraka*; it occurs, too, as an instance, not in the Mahābhāṣya, but the Kāśikā and Siddh.-k. to II. 1, 53, in the compound *mīmāṃsakuḍḍi*; and it is probably the property of the Calcutta Paṇḍits, as an instance to IV. 3, 9.

does he mention *Jaimini*, the author of the Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra; and it is, perhaps, worthy of our attention, that not even the Gāṇas to Pāṇini contain the formation of this word, which is of as much interest as any other word of the Gaṇa *Bāhuvādi* (IV. 1, 96).¹⁷⁴

The word *Vedānta* having no remarkable grammatical peculiarities, had no claim to the notice of Pāṇini; but had he been aware of the word *Vedāntin*, “one who knows the Vedānta,” it would certainly have required a special rule of his, since there is no Sūtra in his Grammar by which the sense of this derivative could be made out satisfactorily. And as Pāṇini notices but *one single word* in which the base is not a proper name, and the affix *in* (technically *ini*) imparts to the

¹⁷⁴ With regard to Jaimini, I have only to add that the instance *अनिनिवृत्त* or *अनिनिवृत्ति* to II. 2, 38 has not yet found a place in the Bhāṣya or in Kaiyaṇa's commentary; it occurs in the Kāśikā and the Gaṇatanubodhī; but on what authority Jayāditya and Vardhamāna give this handsome epithet to the old Jaimini, or whether it is levelled against another Jaimini, I have no means of stating.

derivative the sense of studying or knowing, viz., *anubrāhmaṇin*, "one who studies or knows a work like a Brāhmaṇa" (IV. 2, 62), the omission of *Vedāntin* acquires increased significance.¹⁷³

Sāṅkhya is a peculiar form. It comes from *sāṅkhyā*, and designates the philosophy which is based on *synthetic* (sam) *reasoning* (khyā). Its very name shows that it is the counterpart, as it were, of *Nyāya* (ni-āya), or the philosophy founded on "*analytical reasoning*." For while the former builds up a system of the universe, the latter dissects it into categories, and "enters into" its component parts. Yet a grammatical rule would have had to explain why the name of the former system is not a *kṛit*-formation,—for instance, its very base, *sāṅkhyā*, analogously to the *kṛit*-formation *nyāya*. It has not been noticed by Pāṇini. Nor does he teach—as he probably would have done had this philo-

¹⁷³ In the Sūtra IV. 3, 111, the affix *is* (technically, *ist*) has a similar purport, but the base implies a proper name; thus, *Karmandia*, *Kṛtīśīrīa* mean "one who studies or knows the works of Karmanda, Kṛtīśāwa."

sophy existed in his time—that the same word means, as a masculine, a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.¹⁷⁴

The word *Yoga* occurs several times in the Sūtras,¹⁷⁵ but never in the sense of a system of philosophy; and the only two derivatives of this word which are taught by Pāṇini, viz., *yogyā* and *yangika* (V. 1, 102) are two words which have no

¹⁷⁴ For the various explanations, given by native authorities, of this term, I need now refer to one essay only, since it probably comprises all the literary information—and not only on this point—which can be obtained in our days on Sāṅkhya writers, and certainly more than any one scholar in Europe would have at his command—I mean the learned and excellent preface of Dr. Hail to his elaborate edition of the *Sāṅkhya-Pravachana*. The latter sense of the word *Sāṅkhya*, "a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy," occurs, e.g. in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III. 3; or, together with the word *Képāśā*, "a follower of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine," in the commentary of Śaṅkara on the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, II. 3, 51: यङ्खाख्यसु सर्वन्तेषु प्रतिशरीरं साङ्ख्यस्यारविशेष संनिहितेषु मनोवाक्कायैर्धर्मैर्धर्मवचनमदृशुताञ्जते । साङ्ख्यानं तावत्तत् । साबादा-नामपि etc.

¹⁷⁵ I. 2, 54. 55.—III. 4, 20.—V. 1, 102; 4, 44. 47. 50. 126.—VI. 4, 74. 75.—VIII. 1, 59.

NTAYA UNKNOWN TO PAXINI.

connection whatever with its philosophical meaning. In the sense of "religious austerity," it *seems* to have been known by Pāṇini, though he has no rule on the formation of this word, apparently because it offers no other grammatical interest than that which would be satisfied by his general rules III. 3, 18 and VII. 3, 52; for he has a rule on the formation of *yogin* (III. 2, 142). But this word means *a man who practices religious austerities*; it does not mean a follower of the Yōga system of philosophy.

That *Nyāya* was known to Pāṇini in the sense of *syillogism* or *logical reasoning*, or perhaps *logical science*, I conclude from the Sūtra III. 3, 122,¹² where its affix conveys the sense of instrumentality, i.e. that by which analysis (*ūi. entering-into*) is effected, for the same form, *nyāya*, is made the subject of another rule (III. 3, 37), where Pāṇini gives as its meaning "propriety, good

173 I regret that I must again inadvertent on an error of the Calcutta editors. In their gloss on the Sūtra III. 3, 122, they give the following etymology of **व्याय**, “**व्याय**। **व्ययते** जनेति। **व्यायः**” According to them, this word would therefore

conduct," which would lead to its later meaning, "policy." Unless we drew this distinction between the two Sūtras named, the first Sūtra would become superfluous. Nor is it probable that a civilization like that which is traceable in Pāṇini's rules could have done without a word for syllogistic thought. But between this sense of the word *nyāya*, and its designating the special

come from नी "to lead," of course, is absolutely impossible. Nor is there any trace of it in any of the commentaries known to me. Patañjali and his commentators have no remark on this easy word. The *Kāśikā*, which explains every Sūtra, writes नीयते जनेति व्यायः, but neither allows these words to be preceded by "धीञ्," nor, as this quotation shows, to contain a third person of the *passive* (नीयते). Its gloss obviously means, "because entering is made (नि + रयते) by it, the derivative is व्यायः." The *Siddhanta-kaumudi* (fol. 211 a, line 7) has an analogous interpretation: "नियन्ति . . . धनेञ्," etc., which is still more transparent. But what must one think of the proficiency of an "editor" of Pāṇini, who has none of the laborious work—which always gives a title to indulgence—of comparing MSS. and compiling a commentary,—who merely reprints the labour of others,—and yet, even in a simple case like this, does not feel induced to consult the *Kāśikā* or *Siddhanta-kaumudi*, though he talks a great deal, even on this occasion, of the *Kāśikā* "A. B. and C," but without mentioning its "a, b, c," simply repeats the gross blunder of the editors of this edition of Pāṇini!

system of Gautama there is a vast difference. Nay, had Pāṇini even written the Gaṇa IV. 2, 60, which implies, in its present version, the formation *naiyāyika*, this latter word would not require us to infer that it means there a follower of Gautama's school; it may only signify a man who studies or knows the laws of syllogism.¹⁷³ To substantiate this conclusion, with all the detail it deserves, would be a matter of great interest; for no philosophical school has dealt more largely with grammatical subjects than the *Nyāya* school, and its branch, the *Vaiśeṣika*. The nature of "sound" and "word," the question whether word is "eternal or transitory," the "power" or purport of words, the relation of base and affix, and such kindred matters are treated of in a vast

¹⁷³ To arrive at the form *नैयायिक* it is necessary to combine with the Gaṇa quoted, the Sūtra VII. 3, 3. The same word *न्याय* in the philosophical sense, occurs in the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 73, where a MS. of the Kāśikā has even the reading *न्यायविद्या*; and probably, in the same sense in the Gaṇa to VIII. 1, 27; but even if Pāṇini himself had written it there, we should not be justified in giving it a more definite sense than the one stated. In the Sūtra IV, 4, 92, and the Gaṇa to IV. 3, 54, it has the sense of "propriety."

literature based on the Sūtras of Gautama; and the controversies of the Naiyāyikas with the Vaiyākaranas or etymologists need not blush before those of our modern philosophers. I must, however, confine myself on the present occasion, as heretofore, to giving a small amount of proof, that Pāṇini could not have known the Sūtras of Gautama.

After having refuted the opinion that the sense of a word conveys either the notion of *genus* or that of *species*, or that of *individual*, each taken separately, *Gautama* continues:—"1. The sense of a word conveys (at the same time) as well the notion of *genus* (*jāti*), as that of *species* (*ākṛiti*), as that of an *individual* (*vyakti*). 2. An individual (*vyakti*) is a bodily form as a receptacle for the particularization of qualities. 3. Species (*ākṛiti*) is called the characteristic mark of genus. 4. Genus (*jāti*) is that which has the property of (intellectually) producing (species) of the same kind."¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Nyāya Sūtras II. 131—134: **आत्मकतिलकवस्तु पदार्थः । अतिरिक्तविशेषादयो**

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛiti*. We meet, in his Grammar

मूर्तिः। आकृत्योक्तिविज्ञाका । समावप्रसवविज्ञा नातिः।—The object of Gautama is to show that *individual*, *species*, and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy. In translating the term *vyakti*, stress must be laid on the word *vīśva*, “particularization;” otherwise there would be but *one* individual. The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *ākṛiti*, from Dr. Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the Nyāya-Sūtras, renders this term “form,” which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings. But when *Vīśvanātha*, in his comment on the Sūtra II. 134, writes: आकृतिरवयवसंज्ञानवशेषः and on II. 133: नातिविज्ञाविज्ञाका यथा नातिवोलादेहि साक्षादिसंज्ञानवशेषो विज्ञानम्,—he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛiti* is “the particularization of organisms,” and “the characteristic mark of ‘cowhood’ is the particularization of the organism of a cow,” which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛiti* is *species*. In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II. 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Vīśvanātha*, who comments on them thus; समावः समावाकारकः प्रसवो बुद्धिवचनात्मा स्वरूपं यस्याः सा तथा च समावाकारबुद्धिवचनचोम्यसमर्थः. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Gautama meant our term *genus*.

only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyakti*. In the rule I. 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes;” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patanjali, is a tree.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ I. 2, 52: विशेषणानां नातिः.—I must observe here that the Kāśikā and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patanjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense च नातिः. Patanjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*s. He rejects, too, such instances as यथा वा जलपदं. सुमित्रा संपन्न-पात्रीचः. वज्रमात्राफलः, which illustrate his *pérvaśakā*; an instance of his conclusion is बदरी मूलकष्टका मधुरा मृषः.—Patanjali: क्वचिदं विज्ञायते । नातिविशेष-यमाहोस्त्वित्येवमिति विशेषणानीति । विज्ञातः । यदि विज्ञायते नातिविशेषयमिति सिद्धं यथा वा जलपदं इति । सुमित्रा (MS. १७): संपन्नपात्रीचः । वज्रमात्राफल इति च सिध्यति। क्वचिद्विज्ञायते। नातिर्यमिति विशेषणानीति। सिद्धं सुमित्रा (MS. १७): संपन्नपात्री-यः । वज्रमात्राफल इति । यथा वा जलपदं इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि केन विज्ञायते नातिविशेषयमिति नापि नातिर्यमिति विशेषणानीति । क्वचं तर्हि विशेषणानां युक्तव-ज्ञावो भवति.—Vārtika: सा नातिः.—Patanjali: सा नातिप्रबोधात् । किमर्थं पुनरि-दमुच्यते.—Vārtika: विशेषणानां वचनं नातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्.—Patanjali: नातिनिवृत्त-वर्गोऽवमारब्धः । किमुच्यते नातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति न पुनर्येषणानामपि युक्तवज्ञावो यथा

At I. 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural: "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e.g. a Brāhmaṇa or the Brāhmaṇas); at V. 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V. 4, 97, to herbs,—at V. 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI. 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI. 3, 103, to grass;—and IV. 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender." It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *ākṛīti*, viz., *species*; ¹⁸² and I may add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of "*genus*."

आदिति.—Vārttika: समानाधिकार्यत्वात्सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: समानाधिकार्यत्वात्सिद्धेयवानां युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति । दत्तेयं नावौ ऽनेन युगे ऽव्ययमि आतिर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति । ज्ञात्वाच । चदरी युक्तवद्भावो मधुरा वृष हति । विं पुनः आरब्धमव्ययमि आतिर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति etc.—Kaiyaṇa: अवातिरित्यसमर्थत्वमाह: । भवति भावकः संकषात् । उभयवच आवातिः प्रतिविष्येति प्रज्ञः । आ आतिप्रयोगादिति वृष आहः प्रक्षिपः न तु गजः etc.

¹⁸² There is, indeed, a Kārikā of Patanjali which explicitly corroborates this com-

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I. 2, 51, parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patanjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says: अकृतियवद्वा आतिरिक्तानां च न सर्वमायु । सकृद-आतविषयोऽपि नोचं च चरुः स्रष्टु, i.e., "*jāti* has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *ākṛīti*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools." The following passages from Kaiyaṇa will bear out my translation: आकृतिर्यवद्वा चरुः । सकृदित्यवद्वाचकसमिपेतिविषय-प्रत्येक्यः [For these last words compare *Vivaraṇā* comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] एतेन नोलादिकातिरिक्ततां प्राकृत्यत्वादिसु च संगृहीता प्राकृत्यवचिवादीनां संख्यानस्य सदृशत्वादिति तत्संग्रहायाह । चिकानामिति, etc. । सकृदिति । अयं नीरिति सकृदुपदिष्टा आतिरिक्त्येहीतुं विवेतुं विख्यातदेयप्रत्येक्यः । नोचमिति । अपत्यमित्यर्थः । परब्रह्मदेव आवाचाविवो युक्त्ये । नोचस्य सर्वविकृत्यत्वात्पुनरादायम् । नादायनं युक्त्येनिति दर्शनात् । And after having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patanjali, on the same subject, Kaiyaṇa adds, "from this quotation by Patanjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his own opinion." पूर्वोक्तमेष सचचं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर आहोमिषावादिवाङ्:—On another occasion Patanjali, in adapting himself to Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *ākṛīti*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṣya in note 181): आविष्टचिकृ

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions. In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛīti*. We meet, in his Grammar

भूतिः । आकृत्यैवैतिविज्ञाया । समानप्रसवस्त्विति ।—The object of Gautama is to show that *individual*, *species*, and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy. In translating the term *vyākṛīti*, stress must be laid on the word *visṛāha*, “particularization ;” otherwise there would be but *one* individual. The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *ākṛīti*, from Dr. Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the Nāyā-Sūtras, renders this term “form,” which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings. But when *Viśvaśāstra*, in his comment on the Sūtra II. 124, writes : आकृतिरवयवसंज्ञानविशेषः and on II. 133 : आतिविज्ञायाया यस्या जातेवोत्पादेति : साक्षाद्विज्ञानविशेषो विज्ञानम्,—he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛīti* is “the particularization of organisms,” and “the characteristic mark of ‘cowhood’ is the particularization of the organism of a cow,” which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛīti* is *species*. In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II. 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Viśvaśāstra*, who comments on them thus ; समावः समावाकारकः प्रसवो बुद्धिवचनमात्रा स्वरूपं यस्याः सा तथा च समावाकारबुद्धिवचनयोर्व्यवसर्गः There can be no doubt, therefore, that Gautama meant our term *genus*.

only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyākṛīti*. In the rule I. 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) “qualities as far as a *jāti* goes ;” and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patanjali, is a tree.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ I. 2, 52 : विशेषणानी वाचातिः.—I must observe here that the Kāśikā and, on its authority, the Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patanjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense च वाचातिः. Patanjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jāti*s. He rejects, too, such instances as यथाहा जगदद्, जुमिवा संयज्ञ-पानीवः, यज्माज्जफळः, which illustrate his *periphrastike* ; an instance of his conclusion is वदती यूखवष्टका मधुरा पुषः.—Patanjali : कबनिद् विज्ञावते । आतिर्वैद्विषेय-ब्रमाहोस्त्वित्वातेर्वानि विशेषणानीति । किं चातः । यदि विज्ञावते आतिर्वैद्विषेयब्रमि-ति सिद्धं यथाहा जगदद् इति । जुमिवा (MS. °यः) संयज्ञपुनीवः । यज्माज्जफळ इति न सिध्यति । कबविज्ञावते । आतेर्वोर्निविशेषणानीति । सिद्धं जुमिवा (MS. °यः) संयज्ञपानी-यः । यज्माज्जफळ इति । यथाहा जगदद् इति न सिध्यति । एवं तर्हि शिवं विज्ञावते आतिर्वैद्विषेयब्रमिति नापि आतेर्वानि विशेषणानीति । क्वं तर्हि विशेषणानां युक्तव-ज्ञावो भवति.—Vārtika : आ जातिः.—Patanjali : आ जातिप्रबोधात् । किमर्थं पुनरि-दमुच्यते.—Vārtika : विशेषणानां वचनं आतिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्.—Patanjali : आतिनिवृत्त्य-र्थो ऽयमारम्भः । किमुच्यते आतिनिवृत्त्यर्थ इति न पुनर्वैद्विषेयब्रमानामपि युक्तवज्ञावो यथा

At I. 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural: "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e.g. a Brāhmaṇa or the Brāhmaṇas); at V. 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V. 4, 37, to herbs,—at V. 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI. 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI. 3, 103, to grass;—and IV. 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender." It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pāṇini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *śrīṭi*, viz., *species*; ¹²² and I may add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of "*genus*."

आदिति.—Vārttika: समानाधिकरत्वात्सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: समानाधिकरत्वात्सिद्धे-
यवानां युक्तपञ्चाशो भवति । यदेवं पादौ ऽपि युगे ऽप्येवमपि यातिर्युक्तपञ्चाशो न
भवति । ज्ञानम् । यदपि युक्तपञ्चाशो मधुरा वृक्ष इति । किं पुनः आरब्धमन्वपि
यातिर्युक्तपञ्चाशो न भवति etc.—Kalyāṇa: स्वातिरित्यसमर्थमात्रः । भवति
मानवः संख्यातः । उभयवा चावाप्तिः प्रतिविषयति प्रज्ञः । आ यातिप्रयोगादिति
युच्यते । प्रक्षिपः न तु नञः etc.

¹²² There is, indeed, a Kārikā of Patanjali which explicitly corroborates this com-

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I. 2, 51, parison which I have made between Pāṇini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording evidence that Gautama is prior to Patanjali. I mean the Kārikā to IV. 1, 63, which says: **आकृतियस्या कर्तृविशेषाणां च न सर्वेभाष्य । सकृद-
आकृत्यिषाणां नोप च चरति** सह, i.e., "*jāti* has (in Pāṇini) the sense of *śrīṭi*; it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognized (elsewhere); but it is, too, a family with its schools." The following passages from Kālyāṇa will bear out my translation: **आकृत्यिष्यं सखाः सकृदित्यस्याकृत्यस्यैवविशेषक-
प्रोक्तव्यः** [For these last words compare *Vīśvadhāra's* comment on the *Nyāya Sūtra* II. 133, in note 180.] एतेन नोत्पादिकातिशेयता प्राकृत्यस्यादिसु च संनृता
प्राकृत्यचरिषादीनां संख्यानस्य सकृदस्यादिति तत्संयहावाह । चिकानामिति, etc.
..... । सकृदिति । यत् नोतिरिति सकृदुपदिष्टा यातिर्यिषीर्युं विवेतुं पिछात्तरे
यत्नेत्तर्हः । नोचमिति । अपलमिष्यः । चरत्प्रत्ययेन प्राकृत्यावाविनो मुक्तये ।
नोचस्य सर्वविश्वस्यानुपगुणादायम् । भारयनं गनुचमिति दर्शनात् । And after
having explained the Kārikā of "another" quoted by Patanjali, on the same subject,
Kālyāṇa adds, "from this quotation by Patanjali it has been inferred that the former
Kārikā expresses his own opinion:" पूर्वोक्तमेष सचयं भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर
आहेलमिष्यानादिवाङ्मः.—On another occasion Patanjali, in adapting himself to
Pāṇini's use of the term *jāti* (i.e. = *śrīṭi*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I. 2,
52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāṣya in note 181): **आविष्टविष्ठा**

and means there “*linga*” generic mark, which, in grammatical and means there “*linga*” generic mark, which, in grammatical
 सतिर्विश्वमुपादाय प्रवर्तते । उत्पत्तिप्रमुखा विनाशप्रविष्टं न सृष्टिः [Kaiyaṣa:
 सृष्टिं विष्टं सृष्टा सृष्टिद्विष्टा विचलितविष्टसर्वः, etc.] i.e., “If *jāti* has a fixed
 gender,—whenever it has taken that gender, from birth to death it does not abandon
 that gender.”—I must also call attention to another passage from the Mahābhāṣya,
 which likewise shows that *jāti* has, in Pāṇini, Gautama’s sense of *ākṛiti*, and which at the
 same time proves that Patanjali not only had a knowledge of the philosophical applica-
 tion of the latter term, but, when speaking in his own name, uses *ākṛiti* in the same
 manner in which it is used by Gautama. In the passage I am alluding to, he
 broaches the same problem which is proposed by the Nyāya-Sūtras, but as a gram-
 marian, and in reference to Pāṇini, who has no term for *genus*, he comprises in his
 question merely the alternative whether the sense of a word in Pāṇini implies “species”
 (*ākṛiti*), or “individuality” (*dravya*). His answer is, that it comprises both, for those
 who maintain the former alternative are justified in their opinion by the Sūtra I. 2. 58,
 and those who incline towards the latter, by the Sūtra I. 2. 64. *Patanjali’s Introduction*
 (ed. Ballantyne, p. 40-42): किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थे सृष्टिद्विष्टस्य । उभयमिवाह ।
 सत्त्वं सृष्टिः । उभयथा सृष्टिद्विष्टस्य सृष्टिः प्रतीयते । आकृतिः पदार्थे सत्त्वं सत्त्वा-
 खावधिकसिद्धस्य नान्यतरस्यमित्युच्यते । इत्थं पदार्थे सत्त्वा सत्त्वाधामिकेव
 सृष्टिः सृष्टिः ।—Whether *Kātyāyana*, in using the expression सर्वव्यक्तिः सृष्टिः (I. 4, 1.
 v. 3, of the Calcutta edition), merely adapted himself to the manner in which Pāṇini
 uses *सृष्टिः*, or whether he, too, had not yet a knowledge of Gautama’s definition would

terminology, is *gender*.¹⁸ The notion of individuality is not repre-
 sented by a special word in the language of Pāṇini; the nearest
 approach to it is his word *adhikarana*, as it is used in the rules
 II. 4, 13. 15, and V. 3, 43, where it is rendered by the com-
 mentators by *dravya* “substance.” The term *viśeṣya* may be
 compared to *adhikarana*; but as it signifies “the object to be

have remained doubtful, had he not availed himself, in another of his Vārtikas, of the
 term *ākṛiti* exactly in the sense in which it is defined by the Nyāya Sūtra—viz., in the
 Vārtika 5 (ed. Calc.) to VII. 1, 74: न वा समानाधामाकृती भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात्;
 and though Patanjali observes that this Vārtika is superfluous, since its contents are a
 matter of course, we may, nevertheless, be thankful for its word *आकृति*, and the conclu-
 sions it enables us to draw in our present case.—Patanjali: न वा सत्त्वम् । किं चारणम् ।
 समानाधामाकृती भावित्युक्तविज्ञानात् । समानाधामाकृती सत्त्वचित्युक्तम् । आ-
 कृतेनैव सत्त्वचित्युक्तम् । किं सत्त्वमेतत् । न हि सत्त्वमुच्यमानं भवति । सत्त्वस्यै-
 निर्देशात्सिद्धम्; and Kaiyaṣa तच्च पीडयन्तो नृपाकृती पुनश्च: क्वाकृती
 नृपस्यकलिक इति पुनश्चावाप्रसङ्गः..

¹⁸ *Vyākṛti* is used in the same sense by Kātyāyana in the Vārtika 1 (of the Calc.
 ed.) to I. 2, 52.

qualified," it is not the counterpart of *jāti*, but of *vīśeshana*, "the quality."¹⁴

The result of the foregoing comparison between Pāṇini and Gautama must remove, I believe, every doubt as to the chronological position of both. The expressions of Pāṇini show that he had not even conceived so much as the philosophical problem started and solved by Gautama. The very manner in which Patanjali is compelled to answer the question, whether "the sense of a word" in Pāṇini "implies species or individuality"—viz., that at one time it implies the former, and at another, the latter, shows that philosophical investigations into the "sense of the word" had not yet troubled Pāṇini's mind. A mere difference of opinion between the grammarian and the Nyāya philosopher would be no proof for the posteriority of the latter; but the absence of the problem itself, in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, is, I hold, sufficient ground for this inference. A problem of this kind could not have been slighted

¹⁴ Compare II. 1, 57; also V. 1, 119, v. 5 (ed. Calc.)

by Pāṇini if he had been aware of it; it would have entered unconsciously, as it were, into his terminology, and into the mode of delivering his rules. There is abundant evidence in Patanjali's Great Commentary, that his training must have been a philosophical one; and it is Kātyāyana's superiority, too, in this respect, which inflicts on Pāṇini a quantity of Vārtikas finding fault with his empiric and unphilosophical treatment of grammatical facts.

After this conclusion, it seems needless to add that the Sūtras ignore the word *vaiśeshika*, which, from a grammatical point of view, would have had as much claim to being noticed by Pāṇini as any word comprised in his rules IV. 2, 60 and 63. The fact, moreover, that *vaiśeshika* is taught in the Gāṇa to V. 4, 34, but merely in the sense of *vīśesha*.

There is an important class of ancient works the chronological relation of which to Pāṇini deserves our peculiar attention here, from the circumstance that their contents are more or less kindred

with those of Pāṇini's work,—I mean the grammatical works known under the name of *Unādi-Sūtras*, *Dhātupāṭha*, *Prātiśākhya*, *Phit-Sūtras*, and we may add to them the *Nirukta*, the exegetical work of *Yāska*. Each of these works, with *perhaps* the exception of one, if I am not mistaken, is unanimously considered by Sanskrit scholars, as prior to the Grammar of Pāṇini.

Before I proceed to examine whether this view can be upheld or not, I will quote Professor Müller's opinion on the age of the *Unādi-Sūtras*. "We do not know," he says, "by whom these Unādi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unādi-Sūtras, as we now possess them, were first composed. All we can say is, that, as Pāṇini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time."¹⁴⁵

On the same subject, Dr. Aufrecht, to whom we are indebted for a careful edition of the *Unādi-Sūtras*, together with a

commentary by *Ujjvaladatta*, expresses himself thus¹⁴⁶:—"We have no direct tradition as to the author of the *sūtras*. They were composed before the time of *Pāṇini*, as they are referred to by him in two different passages of his Grammar. The fact, however, that both *Yāska* and the author of the above-quoted *Kārikā* [viz., to III. 3, 1] specify *Ākāśatāyana* as the grammarian who derived all nouns from verbs, speaks in favour of *Nāgeji's* conjecture, that the authorship is to be attributed to *Ākāśatāyana*. Nor is this supposition entirely unsupported by the evidence of the *sūtras* themselves. In one place (II. 38) we are told that the people of the north used the word *kārshaka* for 'a husbandman,' in another (IV. 128), that they employed *kāri* in the meaning of 'an artisan.' This distinction refers to a period of the language

¹⁴⁵ "Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the East India House, by Theodor Aufrecht. Bonn, 1859;" Preface, p. viii.—The Unādi-Sūtras were first published in the Calcutta edition of the *Siddhānta-kauṇḍī*, afterwards reprinted—without any further consultation of MSS., but with deteriorations, by—Dr. Boettlingk. Compare note 53.

¹⁴⁶ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 151.

of which no mention is made by any grammarian after Pāṇini. In another rule (III. 144,) we find the name of *Čákravarmana*, an old grammarian who is only once more quoted, namely, in Pāṇini, VI. 1, 130. It is of some importance also, that the author of the *sūtras* considers *aṛman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence. These facts, even when taken collectively, furnish no decisive evidence as to the authorship of the *sūtras*, but they show, at all events, that they were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini."

I have in the first instance, to demur to the correctness of one of these "facts," which, if it were real, would dispense with any further proof of the Unādi-Sūtras having preceded—not, indeed, Pāṇini, for such an inference would always remain hazardous—but his grammatical work. It is true that this grammarian speaks twice of *Unādis*, but he *never* speaks of *Unādi-Sūtras*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ III. 3, 1: उवाद्यो वज्रवमः; and III. 4, 75: तावामन्वयोवाद्यः.

The former term merely implies a list of Unādi affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expressions in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes;¹⁵⁸ but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the Unādi-Sūtras which we are speaking of. Between a list of Unādis—affixes or words—and Unādi-Sūtras, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work. All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once.

With the conjecture of Nāgajibhaṭṭa I shall deal hereafter; but when Dr. Aufrecht quotes the meaning of *kārshaka*, 'husband-man,' and of *kāri*, 'artisan' as proving his conclusion, I candidly confess that I do not understand how the fact of these words having been used by the people of the north, in the sense given, can have the remotest bearing on the point at issue, even if in

¹⁵⁸ *Vaidyāntā* on the *Paribhāṣā* उवाद्यो ऋग्यसामि प्रातिपदिकानि —: उवाद्यः । तद्वानि तदन्तत्वेनाभिमतानि वा.

the *whole stretch of the voluminous* grammatical literature subsequent to Pāṇini, all of which, of course, is covered by his assertion, no grammarian had made mention of the distinction he is adverting to.¹⁰⁰ The Unnādi Sūtras profess to give such information as is not contained in Pāṇini's work; he himself informs us of this character of the Unnādi list in the two rules alleged. It is but natural, therefore, that we should find in these two Unnādi rules, as indeed we find in all the rest, much interesting matter of which no trace occurs in the Sūtras of Pāṇini.

But even assuming that my inability to understand this premiss of Dr. Aufrecht only proves my own incapacity, I might go further and ask—What proof does there exist that these two Sūtras, which have nothing characteristic or peculiar in them, were not added to the original Sūtras at a later time, since Dr. Aufrecht himself has shown that the genuineness of *sixteen* Sūtras was

¹⁰⁰ And has this question—which portion of the grammatical literature is later than Pāṇini?—been so finally settled that, *at present*, any one is allowed to speak of it as a *matter of course*?

suspected by Ujjwaladatta himself? And I may add—Are there not, for instance, in a valuable commentary on more than 300 of these Unnādi-Sūtras, composed by *Nṛsiṅha*, who lived *Samvat* 1577, or 1520 after Christ, at least in the MS. I have consulted, not only many readings which differ from the text of Ujjwaladatta, as edited by Dr. Aufrecht, but three Sūtras the substance of which is now in the Commentary, and three Sūtras which are neither met with in the text of Bhaṭṭoji nor in that of Ujjwaladatta?¹⁰⁰ It seems,

¹⁰⁰ Between the Sūtras III. 60 and 61 we read in the E. I. H. MS. 98 of *Nṛsiṅha's Sūtramānjari* (on accentuation)—where these Unnādi-Sūtras occur—a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujjwaladatta, nor in his Commentary, viz.: धारिबिक् च । Comm.: धारयतीति चरवः । दिवो चमे चरवे । चरवः एवविचः । मधोदरातः. Between IV. 2 and 3, it has a Sūtra the contents—but not the wording—of which are embodied in Ujjwaladatta's Sūtra IV. 2: कञेः क्विञ् । Comm.: कञेरागुम्रत्यवः क्विञ् । क्वयतीति क्वानुः । सवारवि क्वानुवः. Between IV. 90 and 91: तनेनुक्च (its substance occurs in the commentary on Sūtra IV. 90) ; Comm.: तनेकुम्रत्यवः । तुवानमो दीर्घच । (?) । ताव्यति तेनेति तावुवः ; and युवातिर्दुमुचिच (embodied also in the Commentary of Ujjwaladatta) । Comm.: युवातिस्त्वप्रत्यवः । दुमुचिच । युवातीति यादूचः । नववः यादूचाव राचः. Before V. 28, it mentions a Sūtra which is neither

therefore, that with the actual doubts we must entertain as to the originality of several Unnādi-Sūtras, it is by no means safe to appeal to two or any such Sūtras for chronological evidence, unless they be able to show cause why they should not be ranked amongst the additions of later times.¹²⁴ ✓

amongst those of Ujjvaladatta nor embodied in his Commentary : ग्राह्यः । Comm. : ग्राह्येति निपातते । यो तन्मूर्खः । ग्राह्यः स्तब्धः । Before V. 52 which precedes V. 70, and follows V. 69 and the new Sūtra (i.e. V. 69—the new Sūtra—52. 70) : दिवैर्विद्विषत् । Comm. : दीवतीति योः । दिवो । दिवः ; this Sūtra, too, is neither amongst the Sūtras nor in the Commentary of Ujjvaladatta.

¹²⁴ Dr. Aufrecht himself observes (p. ix) with perfect accuracy : “ the upādisūtras have not been handed down to us in their original form. It was not the intention of the author to give a complete list of all the unādi-words, but merely to collect the most important of them. Hence we frequently meet with the sentence : वृद्धसमन्वयापि ‘in various other words, too,’ or नन्विष्यो ऽपि वृद्धेति ‘the same suffixes are found in other words, too.’ ” The former of these expressions, quoted by Dr. Aufrecht, occurs, indeed, five times and the latter once ; and Patanjali says in his Kārikā to III. 3, 1, and in his comment on it : वाडस्य प्रकृतिसमुद्भूतेः । तन्वीचः प्रकृतिश्च उवाच यो वृद्धो न सर्वोऽप्यो वृद्धो । प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् । प्रायेण खलपि समुच्चिताः । न सर्वे समुच्चिताः । कार्यस्यैवविधेयं तदुक्तम् । कार्यैषि खलपि स्यैषाणि कृतानि । न

And again, what possible conclusion as to the chronological relation of the Unnādi-Sūtras to Pāṇini can be drawn from another quotation made by Dr. Aufrecht ? *Chākravartīyana*, he says, is once quoted by the Unnādi-Sūtras, and “ *only once more, namely, in Pāṇini*.” I will make no remark on these latter words. That they are quoted by both is undeniable ; but since it happens that both Dr. Aufrecht and I have quoted Pāṇini, does it follow that either of us lived a “considerable time” before the other, or before any other writer who may also have quoted Pāṇini ? When, however, Dr. Aufrecht points out that the author of the Unnādi-Sūtras “considers *arman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidic, whereas they are treated by Pāṇini as words of common occurrence,” I, too, lay much stress on the statement contained in this passage of the Unnādi-Sūtras, but by it arrive at the

सर्वोक्तिं लब्धेन परिसमाप्तिनि । Since, then, the Unpādis are admitted, even by Patanjali, to be an incomplete list, and if there is evidence to prove that at recent periods writers permitted themselves to supply the deficiencies, it will be admitted that my hesitation is not a hypercritical one.

very opposite inference to that which has suggested itself to him. For, if Pāṇini treated these words which occur in the Vedas as words of common life, and, on the other hand, the author of the Sūtras in question had ceased to use them in his conversational speech, and records the fact that they belong, not only to literary language, but to that of the very oldest literature,—I do not conclude that such facts “show, at all events, that they (the Unādi-Sūtras) were composed a considerable time before Pāṇini;” but I conclude that Pāṇini lived in that Vaidik age when *āśman* and *bhuvana* were as well Vaidik as common words, and therefore required no distinctive remark of his; that, on the contrary, the author of the *two* Unādi-Sūtras in question belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life,—in short, that Pāṇini lived a considerable time before this grammarian.

An inference, however, of such importance as this could not be considered as resting on sufficiently solid ground if there were no other means of establishing it than two Sūtras of a work

avowedly open to interpolations at various periods of Sanskrit literature.

In order to support it with stronger arguments, I must raise a previous question, which does not concern the Unādi-Sūtras alone—the question, *whether or not Pāṇini was the originator of all the technical terms he employs in his work?* Since he adverts, several times, in his rules, to grammarians who preceded him,¹²⁷ it would probably—not necessarily—be possible to answer this question if we possessed the works of these grammarians. Śākaṭāyana's grammar seems indeed, to have come down to us, but though, in such a case it would be within my reach, it must still remain at present a sealed book to me, and I must treat it like the works of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and the other predecessors of Pāṇini who merely survive in name and fame.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ See note 97.

¹²⁸ The knowledge that Śākaṭāyana's Grammar exists, and is preserved amongst the treasures of the Library of the Home Government for India, we owe, like so much of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, to the lamented Professor Wilson, who speaks of

There are, in my opinion, two Sūtras of Pāṇini which may serve as a clue through the intricacies of this problem.

In five important rules of his, Pāṇini states that, on principle, he will exclude from his Grammar certain subjects, as they do not fall within his scope. But since he gives reasons for doing so, he at the same time enables us to infer what he considered his duty, as a grammarian, to teach.¹⁴ Amongst these rules, one

it in his *MacKenzie Collection*, vol. I. p. 160. Many years ago I obtained sight of the precious volume; but as it is written on palm leaves in the Hāla Kernāta character, and as I could not attempt to make it out without a magnifying glass, and then only with much difficulty, I was compelled to abandon my desire of mastering its contents. It is to be hoped now that a learned, laborious, and competent Sanskrit scholar will transcribe and publish this awkward MS., and thus relieve Sanskrit studies from a suspense which no one can feel more keenly than I do in writing these lines. I must add, at the same time, that doubts have been lately expressed to me whether this MS. contains really the original work of Śākṣyaṇa, or merely a Grammar founded on his.

¹⁴ These rules are I. 2, 53-57. They contain Pāṇini's grammatical creed, and are the key-stone of his work. But all that the "editor" of Pāṇini has to offer with respect to them is the following attempt at an epigram (vol. II. p. 47): "Pāṇini makes an expedi-

(I. 2, 53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a previous Sūtra, says: "Such matter will not be taught by me, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and) against his predecessors." And thus, in taking up that which is merely incidental, and, compared with the subject itself, quite irrelevant, he completely leads the reader away from the real importance of these rules. The *Kāśikā*, it is true, mentions that Pāṇini differs in the principles he lays down in these rules from previous grammarians; but it is far from making a joke or concentrating the essence of its comment on so futile a point. It shows, on the contrary, the full bearing of these rules, and, I believe, it would have done still better had it embodied in its gloss the remarks of Patanjali on some of these Sūtras. At all events, the commentary of the *Kāśikā* on them was deemed important enough even by Dr. Boehtlingk to be quoted by him on this occasion in its full extent, though his reason for doing so is merely to show the "expedition of Pāṇini against his predecessors." "The whole," (viz., this expedition) he writes in introducing the *Kāśikā*, "becomes sufficiently clear through an excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāśikā-ṭīṭī*, which will make any other remark superfluous." As the quotation he then gives from the *Kāśikā* is the only one, of any extent, in his whole second volume, and as he assumes all the appearance of treating it with that minute and critical and conscientious circumstantiality which even in an incidental quotation must be extremely welcome,—I mean by giving the various readings of his MSS. ("A" = MS. 829; "B" = MS. 2440 of the East India House—strongly

therefore do not require any rule of mine; *literally*: for it has the authority of a *sanjñā* or conventional term)." To these words *Patanjali* appends the following gloss: "When Pāṇini speaks of *described by him* at p. liv.), by recording the omissions in either of them, even so far as the omission of a "च" is concerned,—in short, as he gives us in his lengthened and highly valuable extract from the Kāśikā a specimen of his *editorial character*, I considered it my duty to make a comparison of his edition of this portion of the Kāśikā with the two MSS. named and used by him. For though I was perfectly well acquainted with his so-called Commentary on Pāṇini, and though it has been my thorough conviction for very many years that his curtailed reprint of the Calcutta edition—I will not qualify it now otherwise—by suppressing important texts and by propagating errors which, even in a reprint, are not excusable, has been more an impediment to a *conscientious* study of Sanskrit grammar, and of Pāṇini in particular, than his very imperfect commentarial remarks may have done service to beginners,—though my opinion of the literary activity of Dr. Boehdtingk was the result of a careful study of his works, and was by no means founded on occasional errors of his, or formed in disregard of all the difficulties he had to contend with;—in short, though not all the imperfections of his writings—if they amounted only to such—would ever have induced me to stint the share of indulgence which I hold ought to be always and largely awarded to *laborious* and *honest* work, whatever be its failings, I have considered it my duty to make this comparison since, within the chain of the peculiar circumstances which weigh

conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression, such technical terms as *tī*, *ghu*, *bla*, and the like? ~~sanjñā~~ *sanjñā* is here the on his edition of Pāṇini and on some of his other "editions," too, the point I wanted to ascertain, once more, did not so much concern a question of scholarship as one of scientific reliability. The result of my comparison was this. Dr. Boehdtingk records at his quotation from the Kāśikā to I. 2, 53, the various readings of MS. A: निर्दिष्टे (for B प्रतिनिर्दिष्टे), क्स्मात् (for B कुतः), वरखावर (for B वरखा), लिङ्गवचन (for B लिङ्गवचन च), and यथा च (for B यथा); but he does not say that A reads the last words: आपो द्वारा गुहा: सिता (sic) वर्षा इति.—At I. 2, 54 he mentions that MS. A has omitted the word शुब्द; but he does not state that A reads बल्लः instead of B's reading वल्लवः, nor that B has a marginal note on the word अप्रख्यानात् which runs thus: योग्यवपदादि: चचियादिभि: संबन्धः। तस्याप्रख्यानाद्गुणव्यतिरिक्तः. And he edits on his own authority—without any remark whatever—युषयोयं यदरे— which is perfectly meaningless—while both MSS. read युषयोयं यदरे.—At I. 2, 55, he mentions that A has omitted यदि and तस्त्व; moreover that B reads: चचियसंबन्धं खनपदे पक्षावशब्दः। ततो; but he does not say that A omits also योगमावे before तस्त्व, and adds तच्च before the last words प्रयुक्त इति. And what is much worse, he not only edits तक्षावशब्दमनुपगतवत्, while both MSS. read तक्षावशब्देवाशुपगतवत्, but नायं निमित्तकः—*which is simple nonsense*—while both MSS. have the intelligible reading नायं योगनिमित्तकः.—At I. 2, 56, he observes that इति is omitted in B and

same as *sanjñāna*, 'understanding' (i.e. a name which has a real meaning, that may be traced etymologically)." And *Kaṇḍikā* enlarges upon these words in the following strain:

तत् in *A*; but he does not mention that instead of *B*'s 'प्रमाणात्'। अथ, etc., *A* reads: 'प्रमाणादित्यत्र, etc.; nor does he mention that *B* reads 'अर्थसिद्धयश्च किं चिन्न' while *A* reads 'अर्थः सिद्धः किं तच्च यत्नेन'; but, again, he edits, without any remark whatever, 'अर्थाव्यप्रमाणात्', which is *sugrammatical*, in spite of the concurrent and correct reading of both MSS.: 'अर्थस्याव्यप्रमाणात्' (or *A* 'स्तादिति', see before).—His remarks at I. 2, 67, are that *A* omits 'अशेष' — भवतः, and that *B* reads 'हि' (for *A* च), परिभाष्यः (for *A* परिभाष्यते), and सत्ये (for *A* सत्यपदार्थः). Yet he does not record the various inaccuracies of *A*, which are essential for those not acquainted with this MS., in order that they may form an opinion on it and on its relation to the readings of *B*. Thus he omits stating that *A* reads the commencing words 'अशेषमिति वर्तते', that it omits 'इदं चः कर्तव्यं', and reads 'पुनराकर्तव्यं' for *B*'s more correct reading 'पुनराकर्तव्यं'. But Dr. Boehtlingk likewise does not mention that *B* has a marginal note to the word 'आवात्', viz., 'आवात् (sic) यमः'; that *A* reads 'आशेषे' ते for *B*'s 'आशेषे' (in the commencement); that *B* adds 'तु' after 'अपरे' (last line of his page 48); that *A* reads 'तथा उपसर्जनं' for *B* 'तचोपसर्जनं' (first line of his page 49), and 'तत्र खुपाचने' for *B* 'तत्र खुपाचने'. And to crown the edition of this portion of the "excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, which will make all further explanation superfluous," Dr. Boehtlingk prints, without a single remark (p. 49, line 4), 'तचोपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति

"The question of Patanjali is suggested by the rule of analogy. His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy. Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pāṇini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology.' 'Understanding,' (as Patanjali paraphrases *sanjñā*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word, [or it means the words which admit of this mental process.]"¹⁹⁵

नस्यते; when *A* has the following passage: तचोपसर्जनं वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा । उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति गच्छे (sic.), whereas *B* gives the complete sentence in this way: तचोपसर्जनं । प्रकावादयवोचितादेषाकावविमानतः । शब्देरयोः प्रतीयते न शब्दादिव केवलात् । वयमत्र गृहे यामि वा उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति नस्यते.—And such is his edition of even an easy text of a commentary to *only* fire Sūtras of Pāṇini,—of a commentary, too, so pompously announced by himself, and laid before the public with so much appearance of rare and conscientiousness!

¹⁹⁵ Pāṇini, I. 2, 53: तदशेषं संज्ञामाणात्.—Patanjali: किं वा एताः कश्चि-

From this rule of Pāṇini and the commentaries alleged we learn therefore—

1. That his Grammar does not treat of those *sanjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise.
2. That this term *sanjñā* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology.
3. That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols.
4. That such terms as *tī*, *ghu*, and *bha*, were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms.

Having thus obtained, through the comment of Patanjali on

मादिभुमादिसंज्ञाः तन्नामाकादशियन् । नेत्याह । संज्ञानं संज्ञा—Kāṣṭhāṣṭha: ki
वा एता इति । प्रत्यासत्तिव्यावाचयेव प्रज्ञः । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्तेः सामर्थ्ये नल-
यत् । न हि टिपुमादिसंज्ञाणां प्रमादत्वं युक्तवन्नायशास्त्रस्याग्निबले हेतुव्यपवर्ते ।
संज्ञाभावात् । संज्ञानमिति । नववमः संप्रत्यय इत्यर्थः.

the Sūtra in question, a means by which to judge of the originality of Pāṇini's terms, we must feel induced to test its accuracy before we base our inferences on it; and the opportunity of doing so is afforded not merely by the technical symbols which Patanjali himself names,—we easily ascertain that Pāṇini has given a definition of them,—but also by another of these important five Sūtras. This Sūtra (I. 2, 56) says: "Nor shall I teach the purport of the principal part of a compound (*pradhāna*), or that of an affix (*pratyaya*), because they, too, have been settled by others (*i.e.* people know already from other authorities, that in a compound the sense of the word gravitates towards its principal part, and in a derivative towards the affix.)"¹⁸⁶

Thus we learn here from Pāṇini himself that the term *pratyaya* (affix) was employed before he wrote his work; and if Patanjali's interpretation be correct, Pāṇini, who also makes use of this term,

¹⁸⁶ Pāṇini, I. 2, 56: प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्वयमात्रात्. There is no Bhāṣya on this rule.

must have left it undefined, since it has an etymology and was "settled" in his time. And such, indeed, is the case. Pāṇini uses the word *pratyaya* many times (e.g. I. 1, 61. 62. 69; 2, 41. 45; 3, 63. etc.), he heads with it a whole chapter which extends over three books of his work, yet he gives no definition whatever of its sense. Finding, then, that Patanjali's comment is confirmed by Pāṇini's own words, we may proceed; and we then obtain the result that the Sūtras employ but do not explain such terms, for instance, as *prathamā* (nominative), *dvitīyā* (accusative), *trītiyā* (instrumental), *chaturthī* (dative), *pañchamī* (ablative), *ṣaṣṭhī* (genitive), and *saptamī* (locative). And the commentators apprise us that these words were technical names used by the eastern grammarians, which are referred to by Pāṇini in some of his rules.¹⁸⁷ We likewise meet in his work with such terms as *samāsa* (compound II. 1, 3), *śatpuruṣa* (II. 1, 22), *avyayabhāva* (II. 1, 5), *bahuvrīhi* (II. 2, 23), *krīti* (III. 1, 93), *taddhita* (IV. 1, 76), etc. etc.: he

¹⁸⁷ II. 3, 46. 2. 3. 13. 30. 7 etc.

enumerates all the special compounds or affixes which fall under these heads, but does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names. Again, the commentaries, in adverting to them, tell us that the terms expressing compounds, for instance, belong to "older grammarians."

When, on the other hand, we see that he *does* give a definition of *karmadhāraya* (I. 2, 42), or of *saṃyoga* (I. 1, 7), or of *anunāsika* (I. 1, 8), terms which are conventional and admit of an etymological analysis, we are at once compelled to infer that he was the first who employed these technical names *in the sense stated by him*. And this conclusion would apply with equal force to all other terms of a similar kind which do not merely head an enumeration of rules but are clearly defined by him, e.g. to *savarna* (I. 1, 9), *pragṛhiya* (I. 1, 11), *lopa* (I. 1, 60), *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta* (I. 2, 27), *udātta* (I. 2, 29), *anudātta* (I. 2, 30), *swarita* (I. 2, 31), *apṛikta* (I. 2, 41), etc. etc. Nor do I believe that this conclusion becomes invalidated in those instances in which Pāṇini gives a definition, while yet there may be a strong presumption that the term defined was already

used in his time, for it seems to me that, in such a case, his definition either imparted an additional sense to the current term, and, in reality, thus created a new term of his own, or had a special bearing on the technical structure of his own work. When, for instance, he defines the term *dwandwa*,¹⁹⁸ though there is a *pro-babhiṭṭy* that this term was used by previous grammarians,¹⁹⁹ his definition may have corrected the current notion on the subject implied by it, as I infer from the lengthened discussion of Patanjali. Or, when he uses the term *upasarjana* in one of those five rules

¹⁹⁸ II. 2, 20 : चाचै द्वन्द्वः.

¹⁹⁹ Kāśikā (M.S. 829, E.I.H.) on I. 2, 57 : तथा च पूर्वोच्चार्योः परिभाषन्ते । स्वल्प-
दाचौ बह्व्रीहिः । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः ।
उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इत्येवमादिः. MS. 2440, E.I.H., reads मत्वै instead of
स्वल्पदाचौ, but both readings are objectionable, as we may infer from the Mahā-
bhāṣya on II. 1, 20 : एह कचित्समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः । क्वचिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः ।
क्वचिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः । क्वचिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः etc. ; and these identical words re-
occur in the Mahābhāṣya to II. 1, 49. Neither of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *argyayibhāṣa*,
or *tatparyabha* is explained by Pāṇini.—Compare also note 44, and my Dictionary, s.r.
स्वल्पपदार्थप्रधान.

already mentioned, thus allowing us to conclude that it was a current term in his time,²⁰⁰ and still appears to define it in two other rules,²⁰¹ his definition is in reality no definition at all ; it merely instructs the pupil how he may recognize an *upasarjana*-rule in his work.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ I. 2, 57 : कालोपखर्गे च तुल्यम्.

²⁰¹ I. 2, 43 : प्रथमानिर्दृष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्.—I. 2, 44 : एवविमक्ति वापूर्वनिपति-

²⁰² In the foregoing remarks I have drawn a distinct line between the *definition* which Pāṇini gives of a term,—as when he says “*abhyasta* are the two syllables constituting a reduplicated base” (VI. 1, 5), or “*prétipadika* is that which has a sense but is neither a verbal root nor an affix” (I. 2, 45) ; and the *enumeration* he makes of the matter comprised under a term, as when he says “*dhatu* is called *bhā*, etc.” (I. 3, 1), or “*pratyaya* (affix) is that which is treated from the beginning of the third book up to the end of the fifth” (III. 1, 1). For I hold that Pāṇini could not, at one time, feel the necessity of defining the linguistic properties of a grammatical category, and at another leave unexplained the notion, for instance, of a verbal root, an affix, a particle, and so on, while using these terms extensively, unless these notions were sufficiently clear at the time he wrote, and his grammatical purposes were attained by stating what application he gave to these terms in his work. An evidence of the plausibility of this view is afforded e.g. by the terms *śmanepada* and *parasmaipada*.

To extend this inference to purely grammatical symbols like those mentioned by Patanjali, e.g., *gha*, *shash*, *luk*, *ślu*, *lup*, etc. etc., would be wrong, after the remark of this grammarian; for, as we learn from him, that they are not *sanjñās*, in the sense in which Pāṇini uses this word in his rule I. 2, 53, we cannot decide to what extent he may have invented these names, or whether he even invented any of them, since Patanjali distinctly tells us, as we have seen, that *tī*, *ghu*, *bha*, were terms already known to Pāṇini.

If, then, we apply the test we have obtained to the UṆnādi-Sūtras, we shall have, in the first place, to observe that the technical, and, at the same time, significant names which would fall under the category of Pāṇini's rule (I. 2, 53), and which are not only used in, but are indispensable to, the mechanism of these Sūtras are the following: *abhyāsa*, *avyaya*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *upasarga*, *dirgha*,

In rules VI. 3, 7 and 8, Pāṇini mentions that these terms are used by "grammarians," which expression can only mean that they were in use before he wrote; and in rules I. 4, 99 and 100 he enumerates the conjugation endings comprised under these denominations, but gives no definition of the terms themselves.

dhātu, *pada*, *viddhi*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, *hraswa*.²⁰³ Amongst these, Pāṇini gives no definition whatever of *dhātu*; for his explanation is merely an enumeration (I. 3, 1); and the same remark applies to *upasarga* (I. 4, 59), and perhaps to *viddhi* (I. 1, 1) and *avyaya* (I. 1, 37. 38, etc.). It is probable, therefore, that Pāṇini did not invent these terms, but referred to them as of current use. On the other hand, he distinctly defines *hraswa*, *dirgha*, *udātta*, *upadhā*, *lopa*, *samprasāraṇa*, and *abhyāsa*.²⁰⁴ The term *pada* is also defined by him, but it seems that he merely extended its current application for his own purposes, since the commentaries tell us that "the former grammarians" gave a definition of the terms for compounds, and this definition contains the word *pada*. That the UṆnādi-Sūtras contain no definition of any technical word requires no confirmation from me.

²⁰³ E.g. I. 12. 15. 27. 32. 48.—II. 16. 59. 65.—III. 114.—IV. 55. 136. 144.—V. 19, etc.

²⁰⁴ I. 2, 27 : *अभातो ऽम्लदीर्घसुतः*.—I. 2, 29 : *उदीरदातः*.—I. 1, 65 : *चलो ऽन्त्यायुर्व उपधा*.—I. 1, 60 : *चदार्शनं लोपः*.—I. 1, 45 : *इत्यबः सप्रसारबन्*.—VI. 1, 4 : *युवो ऽन्वासः* (comp. also note 44).

Now, had Pāṇini not written the five Sūtras (I. 2, 53-57) in which he explains the method of his Grammar, or had he explained all the technical terms used by him, the absence of a definition of such terms in the Unādi-Sūtras would not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as regards the mutual relation of the two works. But since we know that Pāṇini does not define all his terms ; and, on the other hand, that a treatise like the Unādi-Sūtras uses those terms which are defined by him, and *exactly in the same sense in which they occur in his work*, the only possible conclusion is that this treatise was written later than the Grammar of Pāṇini. And this also must have been the opinion of *Ujwaladatta* and *Bhaṭṭojidīkshita*, for both grammarians, in their comment on an Unādi-Sūtra, which is an original one, if any be, since it treats of a whole category of Unādi words, state in the plainest possible language that *this Sūtra is given as an exception to a rule of Pāṇini*.²⁶⁵ Nay,

²⁶⁵ Unādi-Sūtra, IV. 226 : नतिकारक्योः पूर्वपदप्रकृतित्त्वरत्नम्.—Ujwaladatta :
..... नतिकारकोपपदाकृतं (Pāṇini, VI. 2, 139) रलुत्तरपदप्रकृतित्त्वरत्ने सति शेष-

we owe to Dr. Aufrecht himself a very interesting passage from *Vimala's Rūpamālā*, which distinctly ascribes the authorship of these Unādi-Sūtras to *Vararuchi*. But as Vararuchi is a name of Kātyāyana also,²⁶⁶ this work seems to intimate that Kātyāyana completed the Grammar of Pāṇini, not only in his Vārttikas, but in the important work which concerns us here.²⁶⁷

खानुदात्तले प्राप्ते वचनमिदमारब्धते.—Bhaṭṭojidīkshita (Siddh.-k. p. 204 b, l. 6) . . .
नतिकारकोपपदाकृतदिलुत्तरपदप्रकृतित्त्वरत्ने सति शेषखानुदात्तले प्राप्ते तदपवा-
दार्थमिदम्.

²⁶⁶ See also Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 240.

²⁶⁷ I subjoin a literal copy of this extract from the edition of Dr. Aufrecht, p. ix. : “उच्चा-
दयो बङ्गबन्धम् । संज्ञाविषये स्तुः । तात्पर्यमन्वयोपादयः । समदानापादानाभ्यामन्व-
यित्वेवार्थे स्तुः । लघुगुणरक्षोर्निध्या (Ms. लघुगुणरक्षोर्निध्या) लघुगुणत्वा उच्चादिषु ।
बङ्गकोत्था प्रसाध्यानि तेषु कार्यतराणि च । उच्चादिस्तुटीकरत्वाय वररुचिना पुष-
नेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । तद्वया । इवापयजिमिस्त्रिदिसाधयूष उक्त्वा ।” He adds to
this quotation the following curt rebuke : “This assertion, which makes Vararuci
older than Pāṇini, has no claim to probability.” But I must ask—Is there one single
word in this passage which justifies, in the slightest degree, the stricture passed by Dr.

Although it follows from all these premises that the *treatise* on the UṆnādi-words, the existing collection of UṆnādi-Sūtras, is later than the Grammar of Pāṇini, there still remains the question : What relation exists between the latter work and a *list* of UṆnādi-affixes or words which Pāṇini twice quotes in his rules ?

Yāska relates, in an interesting discussion on the derivation of nouns, that there were in India two classes of scholars, the one comprising the *Nairuktas*, or etymologists (his commentator *Durga* adds : except *Gārgya*), and the grammarian *Sākaṭāyana* ; the other

Aufrecht on Vimala ? The latter says, "To illustrate (or to make clear) the UṆnādi affixes, *Vararuchi* composed the (UṆnādi) Sūtras as a separate work." He draws a distinction therefore, as I have already done, between the UṆnādi list and the Sūtras on them ; but where does he say that *Vararuchi* is older than Pāṇini ? Dr. Aufrecht evidently mistook his own conclusions, quoted above, which precede this passage from *Vimala's Rāpanadīd*, for the opinion of the latter work. Having first established his conclusions in the manner we have seen, he seems never to have doubted that any writer can differ from his view. Therefore, when meeting with Vimala, who reports that *Vararuchi* is the author of the UṆnādi Sūtras, he upbraids this poor grammarian with having made *Vararuchi* older than Pāṇini.

consisting of some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas*, or grammarians, and the etymologist *Gārgya*. The former maintained that all nouns are derived from "verbal roots;" the latter that only those nouns are so derived in which accent and formation are regular, and the sense of which can be traced to the verbal root, which is held to be their origin. They denied, as *Yāska* tells us, the possibility of assigning an origin to such words as *go*, "cow," *aśva*, "horse," *puruṣa*, "man."²⁰ Now, it is this latter description of words which is the subject of the UṆnādi list : they are the UṆnādi words. We must ask, therefore, did Pāṇini belong, as regards his linguistic notions, to the *Nairuk*(as or to the "some of the *Vaiyākaraṇas* ?"

²⁰ See Roth's *Nirukta*, I. 12 ; Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 164 ; and Aufrecht's *UṆnādi-Sūtras*, p. vi. vii. *Yāska*, according to the present edition, adds to the three instances given the word *हस्तिन्* also. He can scarcely have meant the word "elephant," which is not a kṛit, but a regular taddhita derivative of *hastā* : nor does this word occur in the UṆnādi-Sūtras. It seems therefore probable that he said, or at least meant, the real UṆnādi word *hastā*, "hand." But as *Durga*, too, at all events in the MS. at my command, writes *हस्तीति*, I do not venture upon more than a conjecture that the latter words are to be corrected in the text of the *Nirukta* : *हस्त इति*.

Since the former designation is chiefly applied to the exegetes of the Vaidik texts, and the latter is emphatically used by the grammarians, it seems probable that Pāṇini, in this question of the derivability of Unādi words, would stand on the side of these Vaiyākaraṇas. And this unquestionably is the opinion of Patanjali, as may be judged from the following facts:—In the rules VII. 1, 2, Pāṇini teaches, amongst other things, that when an affix contain the letters *ḍh*, or *kh*, or *chh*, these letters are merely grammatical symbols, the real values of which are severally *ey*, *in*, *iy*. To this rule *Kātyāyana* appends the remark that the Unādi affixes form an *exception*, when Patanjali explains this view of the author of the Vārtikas by the instances *śankha*, *śandha*; for though these words are formed with the affixes *kha* and *ḍha*, the letters *ḍh* and *kh*, in their affixes, are real, not symbolical. “And,” continues Kātyāyana, in two subsequent Vārtikas, “though Pāṇini speaks himself, in Sūtra III. 1, 29, of an affix *īyāṅ* (not *chhāṅ*, as might be expected according to rule VII. 1, 2), this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based

on the circumstance that Pāṇini treats in his rule VII. 1, 2, not of verbal but of nominal bases.” “True,” rejoins Patanjali; “but Kātyāyana might have spared this discussion, for “nominal bases formed with Unādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin.”²⁰⁹

In rule VII. 3, 50, Pāṇini teaches that the letter *th* in the affix *tha* has the value of *ik*; that *tha*, therefore, means in reality *ika*;²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ VII. 1, 2: आचनेयीनीचिवः षडखरुचां प्रत्ययादीनाम्.—A Vārtika: तसोबादिप्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: तसोबादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः यङ्कः यङ्कः (comp. Up. S. I. 101. 104).—Vārtika: धातोर्वैयङ्कुचनात्.—Patanjali: खचवा यदयमुत्तरीयकुत्ति (III. 1, 29) धातोरीयङ्कं शास्त्रि etc.—Vārtika: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च याचिनेः सिद्धम्.—Patanjali: प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवतः याचिनेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम् । उखादयो ऽनुत्यक्तानि प्रातिपदिकानि.

²¹⁰ VII. 3, 50: ठसेकः.—A Vārtika: संचातयहं चेदुखादिमाषितिकादीनां प्रतिषेधः.—Patanjali: उखादीनां तावत् । खङ्कः यङ्कः यङ्कः (comp. Up. S. I. 105; IV. 104) etc.—Vārtika: तस्माद्विशिष्टग्रहणम्.—Patanjali (after a lengthened discussion asks and answers): एवमनुखादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । न वक्तव्यः । उखा-

3, 59 would not justify it there. But Patanjali, who supplies us with all these instances, in order to establish, first, the sense of the

to certain Unādi words. Compare also the Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtra III. 62.—It is needless to observe once more that in this, as in *all similar instances*, the reprint of Dr. Boehtlingk has simply continued the mistake of the Pañḍits, though it always assumes the air of having taken its information from the MSS. Thus, in this very Vārtika, the Calcutta edition has a misprint **सरक्षप्रतिविधः**., and Dr. Boehtlingk writes—not “the Calcutta edition,” but—“*Eia edrīka*: **सरक्षप्रतिविधः** (sic),” as if this reading were an original one. But the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya reads quite correctly: “**सरक्षः प्रतिविधः**.”; and Kaiyaṣa has even a special remark to the effect, that though the Unādi-Sūtra III. 73 (comp. also 70) teaches the affix **सरक्ष**, the Vārtika and Bhāṣya write **सरक्ष्** (of which **सरक्षः** is the gerundive), because this affix is **क्विप्** viz: **क्वैः सरक्षिष्यतः सरक्ष्यत्ययः** (MS. ०यो) **ऊधुमद्विभः क्विदिबचा-बुवतेति** (Un. S. III. 73). **क्वित्वादिशास्त्रं क्वित्वायबाभाशाथवासिकयोः सरक्षपठितः**. In all these instances, and others too (e.g. to VII. 2, 8, v. 1 of the Calc. ed.), the E. I. H. MS. of the Mahābhāṣya, and the Calcutta edition—as often as it gives this passage—write: **उबादयो ङुप्यन्तानि प्रातिपदिकानि** (the MS. of the Mahābhāṣya without the §; the correctness of the reading given, however, does not only result from the commentaries, but from the Paribhāṣā works; MS. 778 of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara e.g. writes **उबादयो ङुपु**); when the first word, though literally meaning “the affixes **ङ**, etc.” has the sense, “the words formed with the affixes **ङ**, etc.” (comp. I. I. 72), in con-

Vārtikas, always rejects the criticism of Kātyāyana, and defends Pāṇini with the same argument which he used before, viz., in saying that “*nominal 'bases' formed with Unādi affixes, are bases which have no grammatical origin*,” and therefore do not concern an etymological work like that of Pāṇini.

But if Kātyāyana were really wrong in his censure of Pāṇini, can the argument used by Patanjali in defence of Pāṇini be right? Let us imagine that there existed amongst us two sets of grammarians, the one contending that the words *red, bed, shed*, are derived from radicals *re, be, she*, with an affix *d*; and another refuting these etymologists, and asserting that their derivation is

formity with the use which Pāṇini makes of the words **छत्** and **तद्धित** (in the *masculine* gender), e.g. I. 1. 38; 2, 46; VI. 2, 155. Compare also *Vaidyaśāstra's* explanation, in note 188. The reading “**उबादीन्ङुप्यन्तानि प्रातिपदिकानि**,” which is given by Dr. Aufrecht, p. vi., I have *never* met with, though I have frequently met with the phrase quoted above, not only in the grammatical commentaries, but in all the Paribhāṣā-works, which give it as a Paribhāṣā. I, therefore, very much doubt its correctness, *even if it should really be found in any MS.*

absurd; that *red*, *bed*, *shed* are “bases without a grammatical origin.” Is it probable, on the same supposition, that a member of the last-named category, in writing a grammar and in dealing with these words, would ascribe to them an affix *d*? Yet, if Patañjali were right, Pāṇini would belong to this latter category, and he would have committed such an incongruity. He has not only spoken of an Uṇnādi affix *u*, but he calls it by its technical name *u*, which means that he bore in mind a distinct form of a radical, the vowel of which would become subject to the Vṛiddhi increase if it is joined to this affix *u*. The Uṇnādi words must, consequently, have been to Pāṇini words in which he perceived a real affix and a real radical,—words, in short, with a distinct etymology. There is other evidence to the same effect besides the two rules of his which contain the word *uṇnādi*. In rule VII. 2, 9, he mentions the affixes *ti*, *tu*, *tra*, *ta*, *tha*, *si*, *su*, *sara*, *ka*, *sa*; all these are Uṇnādi affixes, and consequently represent to him as many radicals as are capable of being combined with them for the

formation of nominal bases.²¹⁵ That there is a flaw in the defence of Patañjali, must have been already perceived by *Kaiyyāṭa*, for this commentator tries to reconcile the fact I have pointed out with the assertion of Patañjali. I will quote his words, but merely to show that it was a desperate case to save Pāṇini from the Nairukta school, and to give him the stamp of a pure-bred Vaiyākaraṇa. On the occasion of Patañjali's commenting on the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 59, and repeating the remark already mentioned, *Kaiyyāṭa* says: “Though the Uṇnādi words have been derived for the *enlightenment of the ignorant*, their formation is not subject to the same grammatical influence as it would be if they had an origin;” and, after having endeavoured to prove the correctness of this view through rule VIII. 3, 46, he winds up with the following words: “Therefore in the Uṇnādi formations, *kṛisara*, etc., *sara* etc. do not fall under the technical category

²¹⁵ VII. 2, 9: तितुचतचसिसुसराकसेषु च.

of affixes, so that the rule which concerns the change of an affixal *s* to *sh*, would have to be applied in their case.”²¹⁶

216 Patanjali to VIII. 3, 59 (comp. note 213) : उखादयो ऽभ्युपज्ञानि प्रातिपदिका-
नि.—Kaiyyata : उखादय इति । अणुधोषनाय कृत्वाभमावा ऋषुसादयो व्युत्पत्ति-
विभिनं कार्यो न सभन्ते । अतः छानिभवेत्त्वच (VIII. 3, 46) पृथक्प्रत्ययहत्वात् । न वा
एतदिति वलं व्युत्पत्तिरुभयसादीनानवप्राभुपेयम् । सर्पिषा वृष इत्यादिखिद्यर्थ-
मिष्वर्थः । एवं तर्हीति छसरपदिषु वस्ते कर्तव्ये प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न भवति.—I here subjoin
the interesting comment of Śīradāsa, in his *Paribhāṣāḍaritti* (MS. E.I.H. 593), on this
Paribhāṣā, as it is appealed to by other authors of Paribhāṣā-works : उखादयो ऽभ्यु-
पज्ञानि प्रातिपदिकाणि । अयं चाद्यो ऽवयवसूत्रप्रत्ययनादस्तीलाङ्कः । अथवा सर्वेषां
मुखादीनां धातुबले कृदन्तात्प्राप्त्यतिपदिकसंज्ञाविधौ तत्र कुर्यात् । अन्वे सतः छक्मी-
त्वच (VIII. 3, 46) कर्मण्यहं कृत्वा कंसयहसादेतामाङ्कः । तेन अणुमुदिविदिभ्याश्च (sic.
comp. Up. S. IV. 142) इः विदितीकारप्रत्ययान्तयोः किरिगिरिशब्दयोरपि यथा-
देशे कृते धातुलाभावाच्चलि चेति (VIII. 2, 77) दीर्घलं न भवति । किर्योः । किर्यो-
रिति । एतच्च न सम्यक् । अचः परस्मिन्निति (I. 1, 57) खानिक्त्वाद्दीर्घाप्रसङ्गात् ।
न चासि दीर्घविधिं प्रति न खानिवदिति । खरदीर्घत्वबोपेण खोपाकादेश एव च
खानिवदिति वचनात् (comp. I. 1, 58) । यथा प्रतिदीवेति । एवं तर्हि कीर्येतिधेतो-
र्बोधैः किञ्च रच च इति (Up. S. V. 49) किमत्रय इत्ये रपरत्वे च रेफस्य वकारे कृते
विभिरिति धातुलाभावाद्दीर्घो न भवतीति ।

That Kátyáyana, when he found fault with Páṇini, must have taken my view, is obvious. He must have looked upon Páṇini as judging of the Uṇmádi words in the same way as Śakatáyana did: otherwise his "*pratiśedhas*" *exceptions*, or even his *additions* to the rules in question, would have been as irrelevant as if he had increased them with matter taken from medicine or astronomy.

The conclusion, however, at which I have thus been compelled to arrive, viz., that Pálini shared in the linguistic principles of Sákátáyana, is of importance, if we now consider the relation in which he is likely to have stood to the original Uṇṇádi list and to the criticisms of Kátáváyana. V

Nāgārjuna, who wrote notes on Kaiyata's gloss on Patanjali, conjectures from the Kārikā to III. 3, 1, that the Uṇṇadi *Sūtras* were the work of Śakaṭāyana.²⁷ His conjecture rests on the statement of Yāska, alluded to by Patanjali, that this grammarian con-

²¹⁷ See also Dr. Aufrecht's Preface to the U. S. p. vii, where the Commentary of Nāgajibhatta is quoted, and translated by him.

tended for the possibility of deriving all nominal bases from verbal roots. Now, I have shown before, that the opinion of Nāgojibhaṭṭa cannot be adopted so far as the *Sūtras* are concerned, for they were written *after* Pāṇini's work, and Śakatāyana wrote before Pāṇini.²¹⁸ It may, at first sight, however, appear to be consistent with fact, if only the Unṇādi *list* were meant, for Śakatāyana's views are such as would admit of nominal derivation by means of Unṇādi affixes. Yet, since Nāgoji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the Unṇādi list is of Pāṇini's authorship. Indeed, how could Kātyāyana take *exception* to the *technical* application or to the *working of a rule of Pāṇini's*, and supply this defect by pointing to the Unṇādi list, unless he looked upon Pāṇini as being the author of both? Had he thought that the Unṇādi list was written by Śakatāyana, he would have laid himself open to serious reflections, in censuring the *anubandhas* of

²¹⁸ See note 97.

Pāṇini for not fitting the system of Śakatāyana. We might make an assumption, it is true, by which we could reconcile Śakatāyana's authorship of the Unṇādi list with Kātyāyana's strictures on Pāṇini,—the assumption that Pāṇini's work represented, as it were, besides its own property, that of Śakatāyana's too,—that both grammarians owned one set of technical signs, and that perfect unanimity reigned between their works. The *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* of *Vardhamāna* gives numerous quotations from the Grammar of Śakatāyana, but as several of them merely give the substance of his rules, it would scarcely be safe to judge of his system on the authority of this valuable Gaṇa work.²¹⁹ Unless, therefore, it can be shown that there was no

²¹⁹ Relative to this work, which is of the greatest importance for the study of Sanskrit grammar, Dr. Boehdligk gives the following information (vol. II., p. xxxix.—xli.) :—“ A third work, which contains the *Gaṇas*, is the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (the great Ocean of the Gaṇa-pearls). In London there exist two MS. copies of this work : the one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the other in that of the East India House. [He adds some remarks on the age of the former MS., and continues] : The work

difference whatever and, much more so, if it can be shown that there was a *difference* between the technical method of both these grammarians, common sense would lean in favour of the consists of eight chapters (अष्टोपनिषद्) and about 450 double verses. Its author is *Crā-Varāhamāna*, a pupil of *Crā-Gosāda*, and, as it is stated in the introductory verses, it owes its origin to the request of his pupils, three of whom he names in the commentary on his work, viz., Kumārāpalla, Haripalla, and Munīkandra. Text and commentary are so corrupt in both Manuscripts, that at the very best only a tolerable text could be made up. Besides, this collection was not intended for the work of Pāṇini, but for some more modern grammar. There occur *Gaṇas* in it which are neither mentioned in the *Sūtras* nor in the *Vārtikas*. Then, again, we find two *Gaṇas* which are separate in our collection [Dr. B. means the *Gaṇas* edited by him] combined into one, when the derivatives formed according to two different rules, differ from one another only in accent. The various readings of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* (G. R. M.) I have indicated merely at the *Gaṇa* ~~वर्तिका~~.—To this statement I have to append the following remarks:—

1. When Dr. Bochtlingk tells the public that there are but two MS. copies of this work in London, his readers will no doubt believe, if they believe him,—indeed, they cannot draw any *other* inference from his words than—that there are in London only two texts of the *Gaṇas* collected by Vardhamāna in his work, the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*. I cannot suppose that there can be any one who would interpret the meaning of his words in the

conclusion that Kātyāyana, in his *Vārtikas*, hit at but one of his predecessors, and that this predecessor was the author as well of the eight grammatical books as of the Unnādi list,—Pāṇini.

sense that there are only two catalogued Nos. of this work in the libraries he is speaking of. Yet I am compelled to take this favourable—though very unreasonable—view of his statement, in order not to be compelled to qualify it otherwise. For, the fact is that the bound volume No. 949 of the Library of the E. I. H., which he is speaking of, is, indeed, one volume only, but contains *two distinct copies* of the work in question, written in *different* handwritings, and constituting, therefore, *two separate* MSS. These, added to the *copy* in the R. A. S., form, therefore, at first sight, *three* MSS., not *two*, as he says. But I should trifle with my readers if I considered this correction as sufficient to illustrate the character of Dr. Bochtlingk's statement. The first MS. of No. 949 contains the text of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī* only, on 30 leaves. The second MS. of the same No. 949, which is a commentary, by the same author, on his work, contains, first the text, and afterwards the comment, which repeats *every word* of the text, either literally or impliedly, by stating the derivatives from the word or words as they occur in the text. The same method is observed in the MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. Hence we possess, in London, not *two texts*, nor yet *three*, but in reality *five* texts of this work.

2. The MSS. in question are, no doubt, open to correction, as, indeed, probably every Sanskrit MS. in existence is, but I hold that at all events the ancient copy of the R. A. S.

The proof that such a difference existed between Pāṇini and Śākātāyana, indeed, between him and all the grammarians who preceded his work, is afforded by a statement of Patanjali, which

will, in spite of its inaccuracies, be ranked by every one conversant with MSS., amongst the best *Sanskrit MSS. in existence*. And having considered it incumbent on me to study this book carefully, I have no hesitation in maintaining that even a tolerable Sanskrit scholar would be able to make a perfectly good edition of at least the text of this work, with the aid of these five copies of the text, the two copies of the commentary, and, as a matter of course, with the aid that may be got from Pāṇini and his commentaries.

3. As to the nature of this work : I must allow the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the credit that may be attached to the information given by Dr. Boehlingk, when I state that there is not one single Gapa in the *Unparatnamahodadhi*, the contents of which may not be referred either to Pāṇini's Sūtras or to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana, the Kāśikā, etc., and the commentaries on them, or to the Gaps connected with these works, though the latter frequently do not contain so much matter as the Gaps of Varḍhamāna, who is later, and, as we may expect, made his own additions to previous lists. The substance of its Gaps, increased sometimes in the manner stated, is often contained in several rules of, and in the commentaries on, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, which have been brought into Gapa shape, while, at other times, several of its Gaps, also increased, as the case may be, differ

is so important that it settles definitely, not only the question of the authorship of the Unnādi list, but of all the other works which follow the *anubandha* terminology of Pāṇini. In his comment on

from the Gaps to Pāṇini merely in so far as the heading word of the one occurs in the middle of the other, and *vice versa*. Thus the two combined Gaps *तुष्टादिपचादी* of the G. R. M. do not occur in the Gaps to Pāṇini, but give the substance of Pāṇini's Sūtra, and the commentaries on, IV. 1, 42; its Gapa *तुष्टारकादि* that of the commentaries on II. 1, 62; *अतश्चिवादि* that of the comm. on II. 1, 66; *अधुनादि* that of that of the comm. on II. 1, 83; *अधारादि* that of VI. 3, 75; *आवादि* that of Vārtika I. to IV. 1, 97; *कैरादि* that of IV. 2, 39, 40; *खवादि* that of the Vārtikas to V. 1, 77; *खवादि* that of IV. 3, 72, etc. etc.—On the other hand, the Gaps of the G. R. M. *उत्तापनादि* is equivalent to the Gaps to Pāṇini *अनुप्रवचनादि* (V. 1, 11), its Gapa *देवव्रतादि* to *आवाकादीषादि* (V. 1, 94, v. 3); *अनपलादि* to *अनपलादि* (IV. 1, 84); *अरसादि* to *आकाषादि* (V. 2, 64); *विमुक्तादि* to *इक्षुवचनादि* (IV. 3, 88); *वत्सवादि* to *सुमुदादि* (IV. 2, 80); *मिषादि* to *खिचिकादि* (IV. 2, 45), etc. etc.—There are omitted, *on principle*, in the G. R. M., all the Gaps (1) which have reference to the enumeration of affixes, e.g., *तश्चिवादि*, *खवादि*, etc.; (2) of radicals which are referred to by Pāṇini in rules on conjugation, such as *स्यादि*, *चदादि*, etc.; *भुतादि*, *पुषादि*, etc.; (3) those which concern Vaidik words; and (4) those appended to Pāṇini's rules on accentuation.—Of other Gaps to Pāṇini and the Vārtikas, mentioned in the Kāśikā, Siddhānta-kaumudī, and the Gapa lists, which do not fall under

the Sūtra VII. 1, 18, which makes use of the technical declension affix *anāg* (= *au*), he shows that the mute letter *ṅ* has none of the properties which inhere in this *anubandha* in the system

any of these categories, there are omitted in the G. R. M. the Gāpas to Pāṇini or the Vārttikas: *अवादि* (III. 3, 94. v. 1), *रस्वादि* (V. 2, 29. v. 5), *उपस्वादि* ? (IV. 3, 58. v. 1), *अमवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 1), *अस्वादि* (III. 3, 3), *इवादि* (IV. 2, 51. v. 2), *वावादि* (II. 3, 17. v. 2), *निष्वादि* (V. 1, 20), *अङ्गुवादि* (VII. 3, 53), *पाञ्चवादि* (III. 2, 15. v. 1), *प्रक्षस्वादि* (II. 3, 18. v. 1), *प्रतिषेवादि* (VI. 3, 122. v. 3), *म्रादि* (I. 4, 59), *अवादि* (IV. 3, 164), *अवदादि* (V. 3, 14. v. 1), *भीमादि* (III. 4, 74), *युवादि* (VIII. 4, 11. v. 1), *चौषेवादि* (IV. 1, 178; V. 3, 117), *रस्वादि* (V. 2, 95), *वरस्वादि* (IV. 2, 82), *विलस्वादि* (VI. 4, 153), *गुणवादि* (V. 3, 68. v. 5), *श्राक्पाचिवादि* (II. 1, 69. v. 1), *संक्वादि* (IV. 2, 75), *स्यत्वादि* (IV. 1, 35), *सववादि* (VIII. 3, 110), *युवास्वादि* (IV. 2, 77), *खोवादि* (VI. 3, 2), *हरीतस्वादि* (IV. 3, 167), and perhaps *बङ्गवादि* (IV. 1, 45), since only some words of this Gāpa are included in the Gāpa of the G. R. M. *शोवादि*.—These omissions will be excused, if a report, current at Benares, be true, that the author died before he completed his work; but I have no doubt, whether this report be true or not, that they will be looked upon with the *greatest indignance* by Dr. Boehtlingk, as he himself, in his so-called "Alphabetical Gaṇapāṭha," has omitted *not less than about 90 Gāpas to the Sūtras and Vārttikas*.

4. That a work so conscientiously described by Dr. Boehtlingk can have no value in his eyes is very obvious. Others, however, may think differently, when they become

of Pāṇini. After some discussion on the various modes in which this *anubandha* could be dealt with, so as not to interfere with the consistency of the method of Pāṇini, he concludes with

acquainted with the real character of the *Geṇaratnamahodadhī*. Its Gāpas, as I mentioned before, are all based on rules of Pāṇini, which very frequently are literally quoted for their authority; while even, when they are not literally quoted, the reference made to their contents plainly shows their close relation to them. The commentary not only enumerates every derivative formed,—thus securing in most instances, beyond a doubt, the reading of the text,—but often gives instances from other works—grammatical, lexicographical, and poetical, several not yet published; as, for instance, those of *Gaṇa*, *Chandra*, *Jayāditya*, *Jivādvabaddhī*, *Durga*, *Bhāṣa*, *Sāketīyana*, *Halāyudha*, etc. And, above all, it supplies us with the meanings of a considerable portion of such Gāpa-words as have been hitherto either not understood at all, or understood imperfectly. Of the 12,000 words and upwards, which I have collected from this work for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, there are at least 3,000 which would fall under the latter category; and they have signally avenged themselves on the detractor of this work, as, in his own Dictionary, he is now compelled to leave, in a great many instances, a very telling blank space, which would have been filled up if he had really read the *Geṇaratnamahodadhī*, while in other instances he would have obtained additional meanings to those which he assigns to certain words. When I mention, moreover, that this *Geṇaratnamahodadhī* is the *only known work* in existence which gives a

the following words: "Or this rule belongs to a Sūtra of a former grammarian; but *whatever anubandhas occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no anubandha effect in this work.*"

Hence we learn from Patanjali, who is the very last author that can be suspected of having made such an important assertion without a knowledge of the works anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini, that,

commentary on the Gāpas to, or connected with, Pāṇini—so obscure in many respects,—comprising also, as I before observed, many Sūtras of, and Vārtikas to, Pāṇini; and when, thus, it becomes evident that a conscientious editor of Pāṇini ought to have *eagerly* availed himself of the instruction afforded him by this unique work, it will, perhaps, be intelligible why a certain Nemesis has induced Dr. Boehtlingk to divert the attention of the scientific public from the MSS. of this work, by describing their condition and contents as he has done. As a matter of curiosity, I may, in conclusion, add, that the only Gāpa of the G. R. M., the various readings and meanings of which he has registered in his "Alphabetical Gāpāpāṭha"—the Gāpa अक्षुर्दि—occurs *very near the end* of the whole work, viz., at fol. 28, in the text of MS. 9.49 of the E. I. H., which ends on fol. 30; and at fol. 119 of the combined text and commentary of the same MS., which ends on fol. 121. In the palm-leaf MS. of the R. A. S., which ends on fol. 178, this Gāpa stands at fol. 168. The title of a Sanskrit book, I need not mention, is always given at the end of a manuscript.

though Pāṇini adopted from his predecessors such technical symbols as *ti, ghu, bha*, and though he availed himself of other terms of theirs which have a meaning and an etymology (see page 166),—he did not adopt their technical *anubandhas*; and if he avails himself of such an anubandha, as that in rule VII. 1, 18, we must look upon it as a quotation made by him, but not as influencing the rule in which it occurs.²²⁰

Now, all the Unādi affixes have *anubandhas*, which are exactly the same, and have the same grammatical effect, as those used by Pāṇini. They cannot be later than his work, for it refers to them: they cannot have preceded it, for Patanjali says that "whatsoever *anubandhas* occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work." Consequently the Unādi list *must be of Pāṇini's own authorship.*

²²⁰ VII. 1, 18: स्त्रीरु सापः.—Patanjali (towards the end of his discussion): पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽयम् । पूर्ववृत्ते च ये गुणव्याः । न तैरित्कारोचि विचक्षते.—Kalyāṇa: चपेति पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽयम् इति विचक्षते इति यदिते न चेह इतिद्वयोक्तव्यो विद्वत्सि सामान्यग्रहणार्थं च पूर्ववृत्तिर्दोऽयम्. etc.—For पूर्ववृत्त, compare also note 46.

Having settled this point, we may now ask, whether the criticisms of Kātyāyana do not lead to a further inference? When Kātyāyana finds fault with Pāṇini for having overlooked the fact that the vowel *ā* remains long in *rāka*, *dhāka*, or for having given an inadequate rule for such derivations as *kṛisara* and *dhāsara*, *varsha* and *tarsha*, such criticism applies to omissions which may occur in the case of an author, even a Pāṇini. But when he reproaches him with having spoiled the consistency of his *anubandhas*—so dear to a Hindu grammarian—this blemish seems to me so important, and would probably appear so much more important to a Hīndu Pandit, that it compels my conclusions to take another course. For it was obviously so easy for him to modify his rules VII. 1, 2, and VII. 3, 50, in order to meet the objections raised by Kātyāyana,—to do, in other words, that which he has done in an analogous case;²¹ and the matter he is reproached with

²¹ Nominal bases derived with the *kṛit* affixes *तृच्* or *तृण्* have certain properties of declension which are taught by Pāṇini. The Unādi say (II. 96) that some of the bases *बभू*, *वेद्*, *लद्*, *होतृ*, *पोतृ*, *धातृ*, *जामातृ*, *मातृ*, *पितृ*, *दुहितृ* are derivatives

in the Vārtikas must have been so deeply impressed on his mind that it seems almost impossible not to draw another result from the strictures of Kātyāyana. And this result is no other than that either the words which are alluded to by the author of the Vārtikas in these criticisms did not yet exist when Pāṇini wrote, or that they had in his time another etymology than that stated by Kātyāyana. And if this view be correct, it would also add another fact to those I have advanced in favour of the argument that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana cannot have been contemporaries.

The passage just now quoted from Patanjali's Great Commentary, and the conclusions which had to be drawn from it, enable us at once to see that Pāṇini must also have been the author of the Dhātupāṭha frequently referred to in his rules. This list makes

formed with *तृच्* and others with *तृण्*. But since all of them do not share in the declension properties of the *तृच्* and *तृण्* bases, Pāṇini gives a rule, VI. 4, 11, which obviates an objection that might have been made, like that brought forward by Kātyāyana in his Vārtikas to VII. 1, 2 and VII. 3, 50.

use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini's Grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works. According to Patanjali's statement, therefore, the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini cannot have been arranged by any one else than Pāṇini.²² Whether another Dhātupāṭha existed previously to Pāṇini does not concern us here, since it is not known to us; nor does it belong to my present purpose to examine whether the Dhātupāṭha, which has reached us has received additions from those who wrote, and commented on, it, and if so, to what extent. There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list as in the case of all other Gaṇas; and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāṭhas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pāṇini, since there is no *direct* evidence to show that Pāṇini did more than arrange this list with the *anubandhas* attached to the radicals. All these questions, however, are foreign to the

²² Compare my previous observations at page 54 and the following pages.

present subject. It is quite enough for the settlement of this question that the groundwork of the only Dhātupāṭha we now possess, is, like the groundwork of the Unnādi list, the work of Pāṇini.

The problem which concerns the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, more especially those of the *Rigveda* and the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, has a still greater claim to our attention than that discussed in the foregoing remarks.²³ The

²³ I can here only speak of those two *Prātiśākhya*s which have become generally accessible—the Rik P. through the valuable and learned edition of Mr. Reguler, and the *Vājasaneyi P.* through that of Professor Weber—because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the two others, which are not yet published, and are not met with in the libraries of London, so as to feel justified in uttering opinions which I could not fully substantiate. But as I have no ground for doubting the *master-effect* statements concerning these two latter works, for which we are indebted to the industry of Professor Weber in his preface to his edition of the *Vājasaneyi P.*, I should infer from them that the *Atharvaveda P.* must be more recent than the Rik P., and that, in all probability, the *Taittirīya P.* also is posterior to the same *Prātiśākhya*. So far, therefore, as this latter inference—but this latter inference only—is concerned, and with

immediate connection of these grammatical writings with the collections of Vaidik hymns, gives to them an appearance of importance which some may deny to the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Uṇādi* list. Besides, the speculations to which they have been subjected by several authors show that in spite of the seeming unanimity of their results, there is no work of Hindu antiquity which has caused more uncertainty, as respects the question of date, than these Prātisākhya works.

There are, I conceive, two ways in which the solution of the problem of which I am here speaking, may be attempted, the one *literary*, the other *historical*. But before I offer from the evidence at my disposal such facts as may enable us to arrive at a settled conclusion on this point, it is my duty to state the prevalent opinion as to the relation of these works to Pāṇini, and the reasons with which this opinion has all the reservation which is implied by the source whence my information has been obtained. I shall feel free to speak of *all* the Prātisākhya. Otherwise I shall merely treat of the two former.

hitherto been supported. I take for this purpose the works of those authors who have dealt more comprehensively than others with subjects which concern the Vaidik literature, and whose conclusions express, I believe, on this point, the creed of actual Sanskrit philologists. ✓

Professor Müller writes in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 120), as follows: "The real object of the Prātisākhya, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vedic period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The Prātisākhya are never called Vyākaranas, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pāṇini's Grammar is built is no doubt taken from the Prātisākhya; but the sources of Pāṇini's strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere."

Thus, according to this author, all the Prātisākhya "no doubt" preceded Pāṇini's Grammar; and we must infer, too, from Professor Müller's words, that he meant by Prātisākhya those either edited or preserved in MSS., since his conclusions cannot *consistently* have been founded on any imaginary Prātisākhya which may or may not have preceded those that we now possess,—which may or may not have dealt with the same subjects in the same manner as the works we are here alluding to. Nor can it have been his object merely to state what is sufficiently known, that there were other grammarians, though not authors of Prātisākhya, before Pāṇini who gave rules on Vaidik words, since Pāṇini himself makes mention of them.

Professor Roth, whom we have to thank for an edition of Yāska's Nirukta, states his view to the same effect in the following words: ²⁴ "Grammar, therefore, took the same natural course of develop-

²⁴ In the Preface to his edition of the Nirukta, p. xliii.—The original text of this quotation, it is superfluous to mention, is in German, and in *very good* German, too.

ment as we find it has taken elsewhere. It did not proceed from the foundation of the living language, but owed its origin to the observation of that difference which exists between certain forms of language in the actual intercourse of life and those of written works; and, at first, it confined itself to pointing out chiefly these differences. Then, again, it comprised, not the whole mass of literature, but only single books, especially important to certain classes of society (*einzelne in den betreffenden Kreisen besonders wichtige Bücher*). Thus the path was opened to a general grammar treating as well of written as of spoken language; we meet this first in Pāṇini, and from this time all those special grammars gradually disappear from general use."

There is but one thing wanting to this very interesting statement of Professor Roth's, viz., that he should inform us whence he obtained this invaluable historical account of the rise and progress of Sanskrit grammar. No doubt he has some voucher of high authority for the important fact that grammar began and proceeded in India in the manner he describes; and that these special gram-

mers, the Pratīsākhya, which he enumerates immediately afterwards, were the pioneers of Pāṇini's work. But as he has forgotten to give us the name of his authority, we must, for the present at least, be permitted to look upon this graphic narration of his as a contribution to Vaidik poetry.

Professor Weber, with a caution that almost startles one in so bold a writer, who, as we have seen above (p. 77), has witnessed the progress of the Arians in their conquest of India 1500 B.C., does not sweep over *all* the Pratīsākhya with his chronological brush, but merely records his views of the relation of Pāṇini to one of them, the Pratīsākhya of Kātyāyana, or that of the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.

"We now come to Pāṇini himself," he says in his preface to his edition of this work, "that is to say (*"resp."*) to the description of the relations which exist between him and the Vājas. Prāt. These relations are, on the one hand, very close, — since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pāṇini, and since the Vāj. Pr., like Pāṇini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology; but, on the other

hand, there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the Ath. Pr., with that of Pāṇini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*zum Theil ganz*) differs from it. The particulars on this point are the following:—There correspond with Pāṇini—*tin* I, 27, *ān* VI, 24 (MS. A, however, reads merely *ā*), *lpa* III, 12, *lpa* I, 114 (*✓ lpa* — "*resp."*—*lpa* occur several times, but already, *jop*, in the Rik Pr. and Taitt. Pr.); the use of *t* in *et* and *ot*, V, 114, IV, 58, may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, *upapadam* VI, 14, 29; *yadyritam* VI, 14 (compare Pāp. VIII, 1, 48, *kivritā*); *anudeca* I, 143, *dhātū*, verbal root, V, 10; *anyataras* V, 15 (Pāṇ. *anyetarasām*); *linga*, gender, IV, 170 (only in *BE.*); *saṁjñā* IV, 96.—But there belong exclusively to the Vāj. Pr., and there have been nowhere shown to exist the algebraic terms: *sin* I, 44, IV, 50, for the eight simple vowels; *jit* I, 50, 167, III, 12, IV, 113, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *hy*); *mud* I, 52, III, 8, 12, IV, 119 for *ṣ*, *sh*, *s*; *dh* I, 53, IV, 35, 37, 117, for the sonant sounds; and to

these may be added—bhāvin I, 46. III, 21. 55. IV, 33. 45. VII, 9, for the designation of all vowels except ā; rit = rīḥita IV, 33. VI, 9, and samkrama III, 148. IV, 77. 165. 194; for they, too, are peculiar to the Vāj. Pr. alone.

“If thus, then, the independence of this Pr. of Pāṇini be vouched for with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), we shall be able to look upon the numerous literal coincidences between both, either as [the result of their] having drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pāṇini having borrowed [them] from the Vāj. Prāt., just as we have the same choice in the case of the rules which are common to the Kāṭiya-ṣrauta-sūtra I. 8, 19. 20, and Pān. I. 2, 33. 34. In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also Vāj. Pr. I. 130); but in our present case I should myself, indeed, rather (*in der That eher*) prefer deciding for Pāṇini's having borrowed [them] immediately [from the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya], on account of the great speciality of some of these rules. For, a certain posteriority (*eine gewisse Posteriorität*) of the latter—independently

of [his] having made them developed the algebraic terminology—seems to me to result with a tolerable amount of certainty (*mit ziemlicher Sicherheit*), from the circumstance also, that the pronunciation of the short *a* was in his time already so much (*gerade so sehr*) *schwächer*, covered, that he does not make this vowel, but *ā*, the type of the remaining vowels, whereas the Vāj. Pr. (and likewise the Ath. Pr.), it is true, agrees with him in the *ānuyīkata* of the vowel *a*, but still retain it as the purest vowel, compare the note to I. 72. But it is true that local differences might have been the cause of this, since Pāṇini seems to belong to the North-West, but the Vāj. Pr. to the East of India.

“For the posteriority of the Vāj. Pr. to Pāṇini (*für eine Posteriorität des Vāj. Pr. nach Pāṇini*) it might be alleged, at the very utmost (*höchstens*), that the author of the Vārtikas to Pāṇini bears the same name as the author of the Vāj. Pr. There are, indeed, between both some direct points of contact,—comp. III. 13. 41. 46,—but then again there are also direct differences; comp. (III. 85) IV. 119. In general, sameness of names, like that of

Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons [who bore them]; there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family, or ("resp.") were followers of the same school,—the Kātās.

"Amongst the Sūtras which are identical in the Vāj. Pr. and in Pāṇini, we must now point out, first, some general rules which are of the greatest importance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and which, indeed, are of so special a nature that they seem to claim with a tolerable amount of force (*mit ziemlicher Entschiedenheit*) [the assumption of the one] having borrowed from the other. They are the three following (called *paribhāṣā* by the scholiast to Pāṇini): *tasminn iti nirdishte pūrvasya*, Vāj. Pr. I, 134. Pān. I, 66;—*tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*, Vāj. Pr. I, 135. Pān. I, 1, 67 (without *ādeḥ*, but see 54);—*śaśthī sthāneyogā*, Vāj. Pr. I, 136. Pān. I, 1, 49.—There are very remarkable also: *saṁkhyā-tānām ānudeṣo yathāsaṁkhyam*, Vāj. Pr. I, 143, compared with Pān. I, 3, 10 *yathāsaṁkhyam anudeṣaḥ samānām*; and *vipratishedha uttaram balavad alope*, I, 159, compared with *vipratishedhe paraṁ*

kāryam, Pān. I, 4, 2. But both [passages] do not require [the supposition of] *such* a special relation (*beide bedingen indess nicht ein so specielles Verhältnis*), for they might be brought home to a common source in the general grammatical tradition (*sondern könnten auf gemeinsame Quelle in der allgemeinen grammatischen Tradition zurückgeführt werden*) (the *sāmānyam* of the Ath. Pr. I, 3, *evam iheti ca vibhāṣā-prāptam sāmānye*). Likewise, *varṇasyādarṇam loṇaḥ*, I, 141, Pān. I, 1, 60 (without *varṇasya*);—*uccair udāttaḥ*—*nīcāir anudāttaḥ*—*ubhayavān svaritaḥ* I, 108-110; Pān. I, 2, 29-31 (where *samāhāraḥ* stands for *ubh.*);—*tasyādita udāttaḥ svarārdhamātram*, I, 126, Pān. I, 2, 32 (where *ardhahrasvam*);—*udāttao cānudāttaḥ svaritam*—*nodātta svaritodayam* IV, 134. 140, *udāttaḥ anudāttaḥ svaritaḥ*—*nodātta svaritodayam*, Pān. VIII. 4, 66. 67;—*samānasthāna-karṇasya prayatnaḥ savarnaḥ*, I. 43, *tulyasya prayatnaḥ savarnaḥ*, Pān. I, 1, 9;—*āsīd iti cottaraṁ vicāre*, II, 53, *upari svid āsīd iti ca*, Pān. VIII. 2, 102 (97);—*nuṣ cāmredite*, IV, 8, *kān āmredite*, Pān. VIII. 3, 12.—There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them]; for instance,

IV, 49 (Pān. VI. 1, 84), VI, 19-23 (Pān. VIII. 1, 58-63), which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject. In some of these instances the Vāj. Pr. is decidedly inferior (*steht entschieden zurück*) to Pāṇini (comp. the note to II, 19, 20). Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pāṇini;²³ but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or ("resp.") probably want of practice of the author (*vgl. indess auch das bereits im Eingange—p. 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp. wohl Ungeübtheit des V/s. im Allgemeinen Bemerkte*). In most instances, however, from being

²³ The words of the text are: "Die grammatische Fixirung scheint eben daselbst noch nicht zu der in Pāṇini repräsentirten Uebersicht und systematischen Vollkommenheit gelangt gewesen zu sein." I confess my utter inability to guarantee the correctness of the translation of this passage. What is the "grammatical fixing?" and of what? I have assumed that these words may have been intended for "terminology;" but for aught I know they may mean anything else. And what "survey" is represented in Pāṇini?

restricted to the one text of the Vājas. Sāṃhitā, he is in a better position than Pāṇini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock; and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision (bahulam) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp. the notes to II, 30. 55. III, 27. 95. IV, 58)."²⁴

Two distinct reasons have induced me to give a full hearing to Professor Weber on this important question. I do so, in the first

²⁴ Indische Studien, vol. IV. pp. 83—86. Once more, and considering the possibility of a reproach which may be made to my translation of his words, I must express the conviction that I have not only brought the original before the English reader literally and faithfully, but even favourably. Professor Weber's mode of composition, in all his writings, is not only grammatically incorrect and illogically elliptical, but devoid of the very smallest amount of that care which every reader is entitled to expect in his author. I could have wished that he, not I, had been compelled to undergo the agony of rendering his original into English, with a view of combining the consideration due to my readers with a scrupulous faithfulness, in the version of his words and thoughts. The words between [] have been added by me in order to make something like sense of some of his sentences.

place, because the lengthened passage I have quoted from his Preface to the Vājasaneyi-Pratísákhya—in *my opinion, his most important literary work*—is a thorough specimen of the manner and of the critical method—of the scholarship also, as I shall show hereafter—in which he deals with, and which he brings to bear on, all his learned investigations; in the second place, because to give him a hearing at all—and his great industry and his merit of having touched, with no inconsiderable damage to himself, upon all the burning questions of ancient Sanskrit literature, entitles him to one—was to give him a *full* hearing, in the fullness of all his words. For, though it be possible to perceive the qualities of a clear spring by taking a draught from it, however small, a whirlpool can only be appreciated by seeing it entire and in the condition in which it happens to exist.

If I had attempted, for instance, to maintain that Professor Weber looks upon the algebraic terminology of Kátyáyana's Pratísákhya and Páṇini's Grammar, "on the one hand as very close to, and on the other hand as thoroughly differing from, one

another" (p. 186, lines 15-21), he would have justly upbraided me with not representing him faithfully, for he really says: the one differs "partly thoroughly" from the other. Again, should I have ventured upon the statement that he considers Páṇini's work as later than this Pratísákhya, because he says that it has borrowed a good deal from it; he would have pointed at p. 187, line 18, where he speaks of a "certain posteriority" of Páṇini, which kind of posteriority is just as intelligible to my mind as the answer which some one, whom I asked about his travels, gave me, viz., that he had been, but not exactly, on the Continent. Or, if I had said that his chief argument for this "certain-posteriority" is the difference in the pronunciation of the short *ā*, between Páṇini and Kátyáyana, since this difference led to his conclusion with "a tolerable amount of certainty" (p. 187, line 20), he would reply: "You are mistaken. I stated that this difference may have been caused by local reasons (line 27); it has, therefore, not the slightest conclusiveness." Or, if I gave his opinion on the relative proficiency of both authors to this effect, that he considers the Vājasaneyi-

Pratīśākhya as being "*decidedly inferior*" (p. 189, line 4) in this regard to Pāṇini's work, he would have pointed to line 15, in showing me how much I erred in attributing to him the idea of such "a decided inferiority;" for it is the Pratīśākhya, on the contrary, which, "in most instances, gives the rules with a certain amount of safety and precision, when Pāṇini either wavers in indecision, or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way."

We must, therefore, leave the whirlpool, such as it is; and in doing so we cannot but appreciate the immense advantage which an author enjoys, when he is impartial enough to arrive at his conclusions unbiased by a knowledge of the subject of which he is speaking. Professor Weber has made up his mind that the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya *must* be anterior to Pāṇini, probably because it "appears extremely ticklish" to him to decide otherwise; hence he is not troubled with any of those cares which are likely to disturb the minds of scholars who would first endeavour to study both works before they drew their inferences from them. He meets with an overwhelming amount of identical passages in the two

works: he finds that their terminology is likewise identical to a certain degree,—hence he concludes: either Pāṇini has borrowed these passages and this terminology from Kātyāyana, or both authors have borrowed them from a common source. For, as to a third alternative,—that Kātyāyana may have borrowed such passages from Pāṇini, it is dispatched by him "with a tolerable amount of certainty," as ranging amongst things impossible, because Pāṇini is later than the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya; and this posteriority, again, he chiefly bases on the argument that the pronunciation of the short *ā* was, in the time of Pāṇini, "already so much covered," that he had to take the vowel *u* for his type of a vowel sound, whereas Kātyāyana could still make use of the vowel *a* as the typical vowel in his Vaidik rules. Now, though I have already mentioned that this great argument is strangled by him as soon as it is born, I must nevertheless take the liberty of asking for the authority which supplied him with the circumstantial account of this phonetic history of the vowel *ā*? Pāṇini and Kātyāyana both state and imply, as he himself

admits, that the vowel *ā* is pronounced *saṃvṛita*, or with the contraction of the throat; they do not say one single word more on the pronunciation of this sound; nor is there any grammarian known to me who does so much as allude to the fantastical story narrated by Professor Weber relative to this vowel *ā*. An ordinary critic, then, would content himself with the authentic information supplied him by both grammarians; and if he perceived that Pāṇini, in his rule I. 2, 27, gives the vowel *ā*, as a *specimen* vowel, and not as a type, while Kātyāyana chooses the vowel *ā* for such a *specimen*, he would conclude that, even should there be a real scientific motive for this difference, it cannot be founded on a different pronunciation of the vowel *ā*, since it is repudiated by both grammarians. But a critic like Professor Weber, who looks upon facts as worsted if they do not agree with his theories, concludes that this vowel *ā* was "*already so much saṃvṛita*" in the time of Pāṇini, that he must needs throw it overboard, and receive *ū* into the ark of his grammatical terminology.

And here I may, in passing, advert once more to a practice sometimes met with in literary arguments. It consists in quietly introducing into the premises some such innocent words as "more," or "almost," or "already," or "so much," of similar adverbs of small size, which have not the slightest claim to any such hospitality; and then, suddenly, these little interlopers grow into mastership, and sway the discussion into which they had stealthily crept. Thus, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, as I have just said, speak of the vowel *ā* simply as *saṃvṛita*; and upon these words Professor Weber reports that "*ā* in the time of Pāṇini was *already so much saṃvṛita*"—that important secrets may be extracted from this grand discovery.

The foregoing illustration of Professor Weber's critical remarks does not embrace the arguments in which he splits into two, Kātyāyana, the author of our Prātisākhya, and Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārtikas to Pāṇini; for I shall first quote the observations of Professor Müller on this treatment of Kātyāyana. In speaking of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya he expresses himself

thus : "It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities [viz., in comparison with the Prātisākhya of the Black Yajurveda]. There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātisākhya, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini. It is true that Pāṇini's rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vedic idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana's Prātisākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rishis. This, however, is not quite the case. Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages. 'There are two words,' he says (I. 17), 'om and atha, both used in the beginning of a chapter; but om is used in the Vedas, atha in the Bhāṣyas.' As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāṣya, or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed

²⁷ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 133.

rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vedic idiom."

In other words, Professor Müller sees that in no *grammatical* work known to him—and I may safely add to anyone else—mention is made of two Kātyāyanas; he sees, no doubt, too—though he does not state the fact adverted to by Professor Weber himself—that several Vārtikas to Pāṇini correspond in substance with the Sūtras of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya; he deducts, moreover, from very correct and plausible premises, that there is nothing in either work to discontinue the possibility of the author of the Vārtikas having also written a work on the pronunciation of Vaidik words; and since he doubtless coincides with me in the opinion that even Sanskrit philology can neither gain in strength nor in esteem by freeing itself from the fetters of common sense,—he arrives at the result that the hypercritical splitting of the one Kātyāyana into two, as proposed by Professor Weber, is utterly *fantastical*. I shall support his view with stronger proof than may be gathered from the quotations I have made; but in leaving for a while the

whirlpool of the Indische Studien, I must now take up Professor Müller's own theory.

After the words just given, he continues as follows: "Some of Kātyāyana's Sūtras are now found repeated *ipsissimis verbis* in Pāṇini's Grammar. This might seem strange; but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from Pāṇini himself, and it is most likely that Kātyāyana, in writing his supplementary notes to Pāṇini, simply repeated some of his Prātisākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Yārttikas became part of the text of Pāṇini."

Thus, in order to establish the theory that Pāṇini's work is later than the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana, whom Müller, as we know, conceives to be a contemporary of Pāṇini, he presents us with this very plausible sequence and chain of works:—1. The Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana. 2. The Grammar of Pāṇini. 3. The Yārttikas of Kātyāyana. And since some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, he assumes that such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually in-

vaded the second work. Now even supposing that such a migration of rules could be supported by a particle of evidence, what becomes of those stubborn Prātisākhya-Sūtras and Yārttikas of Kātyāyana which are identical in their contents—as I shall hereafter show—and which have not ventured to walk into the Sūtras of Pāṇini? They become the stumbling-block of the whole theory; for since Pāṇini, and especially Pāṇini the contemporary of Kātyāyana, could not have written rules of which the defects must have been apparent to him, if he had seen rules so much better in a work written before his own, the substance of these Sūtras of Kātyāyana could not have simultaneously preceded and followed the Grammar of Pāṇini. But I need not go further in showing the weakness of this theory, for I have already explained (p. 29, etc.) that out of the 3996 Sūtras which form the present bulk of Pāṇini's Grammar, only three, or perhaps four, may be ascribed to Kātyāyana, on *critical* and *tenable* grounds. A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya is older than Pāṇini's work, can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which

is levelled by Professor Müller against the whole work of Pāṇini, and which is not even substantiated—as we might have expected it to have been—by a distinct enumeration of all or any of those Sūtras which he would propose to restore to their rightful owner, Kātyāyana.

In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātisākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's Grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātisākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time—priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different

nature and character. It may assume however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category.

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Müller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākaraṇa*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a *Prātisākhya* work.²³ This circumstance, however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition, from immemorial times, as every one knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it—the *Vedāṅga* works. One of them is the *Vyākaraṇa*. The *Prātisākhyas* do not belong to them. Thus, tradition even in India, and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish

²³ I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's Great Commentary is not simply *Mahābhāṣya*, but *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*. The end, for instance, of a chapter in the sixth book of the Great Commentary runs thus: इति श्रीमद्भट्टवत्सल-
विरचिते व्याकरणशास्त्रे द्वितीयपादे प्रथमाह्निकम्.

critic will permit me to lay some stress,—does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidik literature, those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it,—which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Śaṅhitās;—but it has canonized Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course if it had looked upon these Prātisākhyaś as prior to the work of Pāṇini?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works. *Vyākaraṇa* means “*un-doing*,” *i.e.*, analysis, and Pāṇini's Grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis: it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consist of words; it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both; it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and

likewise unfolds all the linguistic phenomena which are inseparable from the meeting of words.

The *Prātisākhyaś* have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākaraṇa*. Their object is merely the ready-made word, or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base as part of a Vaidik hymn. These works are no wise concerned in analyzing or explaining the nature of a word or base; they take them, such as they occur in the Pada text, and teach the changes which they undergo when they become part of the spoken sentence, *i.e.*, of the spoken hymn. And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Prātisākhyaś the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words; hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode of sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts.

This brief comparison will already have hinted at the point

of contact which exists between Pāṇini and the authors of these Prātisākhya works. Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidik pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound; but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pāṇini with Sūsruta, or the Prātisākhyas with the Jyotisha.

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor an historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātisākhyas of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pāṇini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it.

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a-priori* question whether it is more probable that the

plan of Pāṇini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātisākhya work, or the reverse?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable Introduction to Pāṇini, Patanjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness. He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts; that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,—in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and correct use made of words, and, as a consequence, on the study of Pāṇini.

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidik texts,—a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa*. And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?

In Pánini there is organism and life. In the Prátisákhyas there is mechanism and death. They do not care for the sense of a word. A word *antaḥ*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else; for whether it represent the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them. The rule of Kátyáyana's Prátisákhyas on this word (II. 26), is, therefore, as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached to this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air.

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these Sútras, Kátyáyana or their other authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all. It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital of the sacred texts; and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which

Patanjali would wish to find in a man who practices religious rites.

In other words, it seems to me that between Pánini's living grammar and these dead Prátisákhyas, there lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps perceptible in some of Pánini's Vaidik rules, but which must have been irresistible at the period of the Prátisákhyas works.

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pánini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pánini meant, in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidik language as well as the language of common life. For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidik texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole Introduction of Patanjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns. I will merely therefore compare, first some matter treated by Pánini with some matter treated

by the Rik-Pratīśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all. ✓

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *s* becomes *śh*; the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pāṇini's eighth book; but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the Rik-Pratīśākhya. The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *ṇ*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pāṇini in the last chapter of his work. A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pāṇini's rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the Rik-Pratīśākhya in its seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters. In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents and the contents of analogous chapters of Pāṇini's Grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pāṇini.

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, I might seem to do that which is superfluous. For, as I have shown before that Pāṇini was not acquainted with a Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns. But as such a comparison, being extended also to the Vārtikas, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the Vārtikas and the author of the Pratīśākhya is the same person or not; and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the character of this Vaidik work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the Rik-Pratīśākhya and Pāṇini.

It is a remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Pratīśākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work; now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which

ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind ; then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasneyi-Saṃhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him. Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us, or that he has botched on to his Prātisākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place ; or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber. But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him ? if he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātisākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism ?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the

Vārttikas to Pāṇini, but that his Vājasneyi-Prātisākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidik treatise as well as of containing criticisms on Pāṇini. And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidik work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court. And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pāṇini ; for we shall presently see that this identity is merely an apparent one, and, in reality, no identity at all.

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pāṇini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him.

Pāṇini says (I. 1, 60) *adāṛānaṃ lopah*. "This is not distinct enough," I hear Kātyāyana say ; hence he writes (I. 141) *ṛasjūlarānaṃ lopah*.—Pāṇini gives the definition : (I. 2, 29. 30) *uchchhair udāttaḥ and nichchhair anudāttaḥ*. "So far so good," I suppose Kātyāyana to say ; "but you give the necessary com-

plement of these two rules in the words (I. 2, 31) '*saṁāhārah svaritah*'; I object to this definition, for the svarita would better have been defined thus, "*ubhayarān svaritah*" (K. I. 108-110).—P. I. 2, 32: *tasṣādīta udāttaṁ ardhakrasvam*; but K. I. 126: *tasṣādīta udāttaṁ svarārdhamātram*.—P. VIII. 4, 67, 68: *nodātassvaritodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava); *udātīd anudātasya svaritah*. The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus: *udātīd chānudātāṁ svaritām* (IV. 140, 134).—P. I. 1, 8: *mukhanāsikāvacchano 'nunāsikah*; but K. I. 75: *mukhanāsikākarano 'nunāsikah*.—P. I. 1, 9: *tulyāsyaprayatnaṁ savarnam*. "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus: (K. I. 43) *saṁānasthānakaranāsya prayatnaḥ savarnah*."—P. VI. 1, 84: *ekah pūrvaparayoh*; but K. IV. 49: *athaitam uttarach cha*.—P. I. 1, 66: *tasmīn iti nirdīshite pūrvasya*. "This rule I adopt," Kātyāyana probably thought, (I. 134) "but for your next rule (I. 1, 67), *tasmād ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clearer wording" (I. 135) *tasmād ity uttarasyādeh*,

"and your *ślokaḥ sthāneyogā* (I. 1, 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding Paribhāṣā rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these" (I. 136).

I will not add more instances of the same kind; they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber; but he is far from perceiving that the identity between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of Kātyāyana, either in the same Sūtra or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on Pāṇini, which are even made more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of Pāṇini's words. For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that Kātyāyana first delivered his clearer and better Sūtras, and that Pāṇini hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable.

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be

a matter of accident that the Pratisākhya Sūtras of Kātyāyana are, to a considerable extent, nothing but Vārtikas to Pāṇini.

Pāṇini writes (VIII. 2, 87), "*om abhyādāne*," which rule proves that in his time *om* was not confined to Vaidik use only; but Kātyāyana writes (I. 18 and 19), "*omkāraṁ vedeshu*" and "*athakāram bhāshyeshu*." No doubt if Kātyāyana had not written with a direct glance at Pāṇini, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible. P. says (VIII. 1, 46), "*ehi manye prahāse lṛi*." Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of Pāṇini, that *manye* is ādyudātta in its combination with *ehi*. This inference is emphatically corrected by K. 2, 15 : *manye padapūrvam sarvatra*. Professor Weber, it is true, says that this word *sarvatra*—which embodies the *emphasis* of the censure of Kātyāyana—is meaningless : once more, no-doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through "want of practice and skill." How much Pāṇini's rules VIII. 1, 19 and 72, *āmantrīkasya cha*, and *āmantrīam pūrvam aridyamānavat*, are the torment of com-

mentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyana's Commentary on the R̥gveda. K. improves them considerably by II. 17 and 18 : *padapūrvam āmantrīam anānārthe 'pādādan* and *tenānantarā shashṭy ekapadavat*.—K. writes II. 22 : *bhūtir ādyudātta* : this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professor Weber. "Why," he exclaims, "is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana)? Assuredly, it is not the single *kīu* formation in the V. S." My answer is, because Kātyāyana had studied Pāṇini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not; for Pāṇini says, III. 3, 96, that *bhūti* is *antodātta* in the Veda; and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā Pāṇini's rule would be erroneous. This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pāṇini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.—K. says, II. 48, *devatādwandvāni chānāmantrīāni*; and his words are a distinct criticism on P. VI. 2, 141, *devatādwandve cha*.—In rule VIII. 3, 36, Pāṇini teaches that Visarjaniya may remain such (or, as

the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become Visarjanīya), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant. But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śākāṭyana, and the former on that of Śākalya. Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the opportunity of writing (III. 8): "*pratyaya-sacaranam mudi Śākāṭyānanah*," and (III. 9), "*avikāraṁ Śākāṭyāḥ śashaseshu*"?—In VI. 1, 134, Pāṇini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidik use of the nominative of *taḍ*. "No," says Kātyāyana (III. 14), "in the V. S. this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances: *sa ośadhīmāyoh*."—K. (III. 22) says *āvīr nīr iḍa iḍāyā vasatīr varivah*, and thus criticises the imperfection of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 54, *iḍāyā vā*.—In III. 27, *adhvano rajaso riśah sprīṣas pātāu*, he shows the clumsiness of P.'s rule VIII. 3, 52, *pātāu cha bahulam*; in III. 30, *parāv arasāne*, the imperfection of P.'s VIII. 3, 51, *pañchamīyāḥ parāv adhyarthe*; in III. 55, *bhāvi-bhyah saḥ śhaṁ samānapade*, that of P.'s VIII. 3, 59, *ādesapratya-gayoh*.—In the Sūtras III. 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the

intervention of *anuswāra*, *k* and *r* do not prevent *s* from becoming *śh*, if this change would have to take place otherwise. "These rules," says Professor Weber, "have no business here, for Sañhita and Pada-text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules;" and in support of this argument he quotes Uvata, who also points out the superfluity. The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers. But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvata is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pāṇini's rules VIII. 3, 57 and 58, which omit to include *r*. At II. 55, *dvandvaṁ cendrasomapūrvam pūshāgnivāyushu*, Professor Weber discharges a witticism. "None of the compounds" (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, "occur in the V. S. or the Śat. Br. . . . How is that to be explained? Did our Homer nod when he composed this rule? or did he have before him passages

of the V. S. which it no longer contains [Professor Weber probably meant to say, 'which was not the V. S. we now possess']? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *sōma*?" I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II. 56, are criticisms on Pāṇini's general rule VI. 2, 141, and on his special rule VI. 2, 142.—The rule of Pāṇini VIII. 3, 107, *suñah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III. 59, 60, 61, *okātāt su*; *och chāprikātāt*, and *abheś cha*.

The Vārttika 3 to III. 3, 108 says *varnāt kārāḥ*; K. I. 37, *kāreṇa cha*; both are identical in their contents, and complete Pāṇini's rule III. 3, 108. The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P. III. 3, 108, *rād īphah*, and to K. I. 40, *ra ephena cha*, in reference to the same rule of Pāṇini.—K. III. 38, *aharpatau repam*, points out an omission in P. VIII. 2, 70: the same criticism is conveyed by the Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pāṇini, *aharādnām patyādīshu*.—K. III. 12, *luṅ mudī jītpare* fills up a blank in P. VIII. 3, 36, *vā śiri*; and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā śarprakarane kharpare lopah*.—P.'s rule VI. 3, 109,

prishodarādñi yathopadisham, is criticised by K. III. 41 and 42, *ukāram dur de* and *nāse cha*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule, which has the same contents: *duro dāsanāśadabhadhyeshkūtvam* *vaktaryam uttarapadādes cha śhūtvam*.—A Vārttika to the same rule of P., *shasha uvam datridāśasūttarapadādeḥ śhūtvam cha*, is identical in contents with K. III. 46, *shad dāśantanayoh sāmkyā-vayorthayoh cha*: both are criticisms on P. VI. 3, 109.—The first Vārttika to III. 2, 49 (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāshya), *dārāv āhano 'ṇantiyasya cha ṭah sanjñayām*, is similar in contents with K. III. 47, *ta āghād anādāmbarāt*: both complete P. III. 2, 49, *āsish hanah*.—The important omission in P.'s Sūtra VIII. 4, 1, *rashābhyām no naḥ samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K.'s III. 83, *ṛisharebhyo nakāro nakāraṁ samānapade*, and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *rashābhyām natva ṛikāragrahaṇam*.

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by a comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vajasaneyi-Pratīśākhya with the

analogous contents of whole chapters in Pāṇini. For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rik-Prātisākhya* and Pāṇini's work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pāṇini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own. My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātisākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pāṇini*. And, as it is simply ridiculous to assume that "Homer constantly nodded" in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above.

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātisākhyas or his Vārttikas to Pāṇini. Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātisākhya preceded his

Vārttikas. In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, left a considerable number of Pāṇini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now admit, are embodied in his Prātisākhya work. If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in a hurried and immature state, and, upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book. If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his Prātisākhya Sūtras, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pāṇini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his Vārttikas; and we can then, too, understand why these Vārttikas treat merely of those Sūtras of Pāṇini which were not included in his former work.

My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his Sūtras and such of his Vārttikas as are closely related to one another. For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive that some of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas show an improvement on some of his Sūtras, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement. Thus the Vārttika to VIII. 3, 36, quoted before, contains the word *vá*, which is not in the Sūtra III. 12; the Vārttika *śāro*, &c., to VI. 3, 109 embraces more formations than the Sūtras III. 41 and 42; the Vārttikas 1-3 to III. 2, 49 do not contain, it is true, the word *śāmbhara* alluded to in III. 47—perhaps because it was already contained in this Sūtra—but increase considerably the contents of this rule; the Vārttika 2 to VIII. 2, 70 treats of a whole Gana, while the Sūtra III. 38 merely names its heading word; and so on. Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the Sūtras which are attached to the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pāṇini,—that,

consequently, an improvement of the Vārttikas on the Pratisākhya need not tell on the chronological relation between both. For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Pratisākhya does *not* strictly confine itself to the language of his Samhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general. Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views; and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III. 42, quoted before. It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā; this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI. 3, 109, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III. 42 itself. Their not standing there shows to my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Pratisākhya work.

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pāṇini's work to the Pratisākhya of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have

derived from my previous arguments. I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal. Such is the case with the question before us. For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patanjali supplied, viz., that the “*anubandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pāṇini :” in other words, that if a grammarian uses *anubandhas* employed by Pāṇini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pāṇini’s work,—we need only point to the *pratāyāhara tīg*, in Kātyāyana’s Sūtra I. 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pāṇini’s grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana. That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pāṇini, cannot be a matter of surprise; indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—either as inventor or as borrowing from older grammarians—such additions to the terminology of Pāṇini in his very Vārtikas, where

one would think there was the least necessity for them,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *sit*, *pit*, *jīt*, *jhit*, *ghu*, in the sense in which he uses them.²²

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pāṇini and the Prātisākhya works. The *historical* proof, that not only the work of Pāṇini, but *Pāṇini himself*, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of the oldest *Prātisākhya*, requires in the first place, the remark that by the latter designation I mean the Prātisākhya of the R̥gveda hymns.

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Prātisākhya has given proofs that this work as well

²² Vārtika 1 to Pāṇini I. 1. 68: *वित्तद्विषेवावां युषावर्धेम्*; Vārtika 2: *द्विषवो-यववत्स च स्वावर्धेम्*; Vārtika 3: *द्विषयोयववत्सोच रावावर्धेम्*; Vārtika 4: *द्विषत्स च तद्विषेवावां च मत्स्यावर्धेम्*.—In his Kārikā to VII. 1, 21 (compare note 114) Kātyāyana uses the term *यु* in the sense of उत्तरपद, as results from the commentary of Patanjali.—Kārikā: *सोयवो* etc.—Patanjali: *सोयवाविति वत्सव्यम् । द्वि-मिदमवाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति* etc.—The same term *यु* occurs in Patanjali’s Kārikā to VI. 4, 149 (see note 121): ... *सो सोपो ऽतिवदित्वच* etc., when Kaiyaṣa observes: *युषद्वेकोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्यमविकीर्यते*.

as the Atharvaveda-Prátisākhya—and I infer too, that of the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā—are more recent than the Rik-Prátisākhya, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him in his views.

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this Rik-Prátisākhya. It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus: "After having adored Brahma, Śaunaka expressed the characteristic feature of the Rik-veda verses."

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Rik-

Prátisākhya as we now find it. But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself. It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself.

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Prátisākhya work. If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,²⁰ while there is no evidence to show that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former '*literary*' argument, a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Prátisākhya here named.²¹

²⁰ IV. 3, 103: पुराणमिति ब्राह्मणकथ्ये; 106: दीपवादिभ्यश्च. Compare also page 149.

²¹ This is the view, too, of *U'vaṭa*, the commentator on this Prátisākhya. He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him: शाणक्यं स्मरणाय. See Mr. Regnier's edition of the Rik-P. in the Journal Asiatique, vol. VII. (1856), p. 183.

This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn.

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" who bear these names. It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names," "like Kātyāyana;" but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit literature; and if the same name re-occurs in other and *kindred* portions of this same literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and *good* reasons which

would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (p. 80), that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Slokas, called *Sangraha*, whose author is *Vyādi* or *Vyāli*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name or *Sangraha*, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyādi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyādi* is quoted several times in the *Rik-Pratishākhya*,²² and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *Sangraha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the Sūtras to Pāṇini or the

²² Rik-P. III, 14. 17; VI, 12; XIII, 12. 15. See Mr. Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the Rik-Pratishākhya, s.v. Vyāli.

Vārttikas of Kātyāyana;²²³ and both, indeed, as I shall show hereafter, appear to have stood in a close relation to the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārttika of Pāṇini's rule II. 3, 66.

It is this: "*beautiful indeed is Dākshāyana's creation of the Sangraha.*"²²⁴

From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper name of the author of the Sangraha, that Vyādi and Dākshāyana are one and the same grammatical authority. Dākshāyana, however, is not only a descendant of

²²³ Patañjali's commentary on v. 6 (of the Calcutta edition) to IV. 2, 60 gives the instances: सर्वदेहः । सर्वतन्त्रः । सर्वास्तिकः । सर्वयहः । or the Kāśikā to VI. 3, 79: सर्वयहं खाकरसमधीति.

²²⁴ This instance follows another which says: "beautiful indeed is Pāṇini's creation of (his) Sūtra."—Vārttika 2 to II. 3, 66: श्रेष्ठे विभावाः.—Patañjali: शोभना खलु पाणिनिः सूत्रस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु पाणिनिना सूत्रस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु दादाय-स्यस्य संवहस्य कृतिः । शोभना खलु दादायस्येन संवहस्य कृतिः.

Dāksha, but of *Dākshi* also,²²⁵ and of the latter, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature. For Pāṇini, who defines the term *yuvan* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief,²²⁶ gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of *Dākshāyana*.²²⁷

²²⁵ Pāṇini, IV. 1, 95: सत एव.—Kātyāyana: एनो युवायुवाभ्यां किञ्चिन्नो विप्रति-वेधेन.—Patañjali: एनो युवायुवाभ्यां किञ्चिन्नो भवतः विप्रतिवेधेन । एनो एवकाशः । दाधिः etc.—Kāśikā: दक्षसापत्नं दाधिः.

²²⁶ Pāṇini, IV. 1, 162: सपत्नं यौचप्रमृति नोचत्; 163: यौवति गु वंशे युवा; 164: भ्रातरि व व्यायसि; 165: यान्चस्मिन्सापत्ने खाविरतरे यौवति.

²²⁷ IV. 1, 101: यञिचोच. This Sūtra has no direct commentary by Patañjali, and I shall therefore first quote the Kāśikā on it: यञकादिचकासापत्ने एकप्रत्ययो भवति । नार्थोचकः । वात्सायनः । एचकात् । दाचायनः । शाचायनः । शीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् (IV. 3, 10) । (IV. 2, 80) सुतन्वमादित्य एचिलतो य भवति । नोचयस्येन यञिचो वि-श्रेयते । तद्वत्सायनोवाचं प्रत्ययः (comp. IV. 1, 94).—But there is no occasion for doubt-

If we now turn to Pānini himself, we have it on the authority of Patanjali that his mother bore the name of *Dākṣhī*.²²⁸ And

ing the genuineness of this *Sūtra* on account of there being no *Blāshya* to it (compare note 139), for Patanjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth *Paribhāṣā* (in the *Calc.* ed.) to I. 1, 72 and has also, amongst others, the instance *दाषायबः*; viz. (ed. Ballantyne, p. 795); *Paribhāṣā*: *प्रत्ययवहं चाप्यस्याः* । *प्रत्ययवहं च अप्यस्याः* *प्रयो-खनम्* । *यन्निचोः परमवति* । *नाम्नीयबः* । *वात्स्यायनः* । *परमनाम्नीयबः* *परमवा-त्स्यायनः* । *दाषायबः* । *परमदाषायबः* etc.—That *Dākṣhīyāna* is the *guru*, not the son of *Dākṣhī* is sufficiently clear from the *Kāśikā* itself, since it refers to IV. 1, 94. For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *guru* to I. 2, 66, besides *नाम्नीयबः* and *वात्स्यायन* (omitted in the *Calc.* ed.), the word *दाषायबः*—Patanjali contents himself with the instance *नाम्नीयबः*; but it commences its counter-instance to II. 4, 58 in this way: *खञ्जिचोरिति किम्* । *दाषेरपत्वं युवा दाषायबः*.. We must, consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same *Kāśikā* gives its counter-instance to II. 4, 60 in these words: *प्राचाभिति किम्* । *दाचिः पिता* । *दाषायबः* पुत्रः.. The *Calcutta* edition continues it, and Dr. Boehtlingk, of course, reprints it without a single remark. In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface, p. xxxviii.: “The *Calcutta* edition is very correct, so much so that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts.”

²²⁸ *Kārikā* to I. 1, 20: *सर्वे सर्वपददिया दाषीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः* etc.

Dākṣhī, again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pānini, the female family head of the progeny of *Dakṣha*, standing in the same relationship to *Dakṣha* as the male family chief *Dākṣhī*; she is, in other words, the oldest sister (*priddhā*) of the latter personage.²²⁹ Vyādi, therefore, was a near relative of Pānini, and Pānini must have preceded him by at least two generations.

²²⁹ Pāpini, VI. 4, 148: *यस्मैति च*—Patanjali: *एवर्षान्मस्मैति किमुदाहरत्वं हे दाक्षा दाचैयः* । *हे दाचि इति यदि सोपो न स्मात्* etc.—*Kāśiyāṣa*: *एवर्षान्मस्मैति* । *हे दाषी-ति* । *दाचिप्रत्ययदितो मनुष्यजातेरिति* (MS. *हे दाचैविदिचिप्र०*) (IV. 1, 65) *जीवि-कृते तस्य संजुषी इत्ये कृते* etc.—IV. 1, 65: *इतो मनुष्यजातेः*—*Kāśikā*.... *दाषी*.... —IV. 1, 94: *नोबाबून्मस्मैति*—*Kāśikā*.... *चस्त्रियमिति किम्* । *दाषी*....—I. 2, 66: *स्त्री पुत्रस्य* (where *स्त्री* implies in reference to the preceding *Sūtra* *युवा स्त्री*, i.e. the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the family).—*Kāśikā*: *युषो युनेति* (I. 2, 66) *च सर्वम्* । *स्त्री युवा युवा सह यचने विचति* । *तद्वचस्येदिव विधेवो भवति* । *पुंश्च एवास्माः* (thus MS. 829; MS. 2440 *एवास्माः*) *कायै भवति* । *स्यैवः पुमर्भवन्नवति* । *नानी च नास्तीयवच नास्ती* । *वात्सी च वा-त्स्यायवच वात्सी* । *दाषी च दाषायवच दाक्षी* (thus MS. 2440; MS. 829 *दाषी*).

Now since the Rik-Pratishākhya quotes Vyādi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the Pratishākhya of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pānini from the author of the Rik-Pratishākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-Pratishākhya and the Vārttikas on the other.

After this statement, which, I fear, is entirely fatal to a great many chronological assumptions which have hitherto been regarded as fully established, and to the critical and linguistic results which have been built on these assumptions, it is not necessary—but it will nevertheless be interesting—to see that modern and ancient grammatical authorities contain additional testimony to the conclusion I have here arrived at.

When explaining the uncritical condition of the Paribhāshā collections, I pointed out that if they were looked upon as an indivisible whole, there could be no doubt that they must be later than Pānini,—since one of them uses the word *Pāṇinīya*. I

pointed out, too, that the compilers of these collections, Vaidyanātha, for instance, must have taken this view of their chronological relation to Pānini. Now at the end of the *Laghuparibhāshā-vṛtti* we read that “some ascribe the composition of all the Paribhāshās to the Muni Vyādi.”²⁴⁰ They must consequently have considered him as posterior to Pānini.

I will at once, however, ascend to the author of the Great Commentary. In illustrating the first Vārttika to Pānini's rule VI. 2, 36, Patanjali writes down the following compound: *Āpīsala-Pāṇinīya-Vyādiya-Gautamīyāh*.²⁴¹ It tells its own tale: it names first the disciples of *Āpīsali*—of whom we know, through Pānini himself, that he preceded him,—then those of *Pāṇini*,

²⁴⁰ *Laghuparibhāshāvṛtti*: इदं मनुर्विरचयत् । केचित् वाक्यान्त (the first Paribhāshā) इत्यादिपद्यावा चादिमुनिविरचिता इत्याहः.

²⁴¹ Pāṇini, VI. 2, 36: आपादौपसर्जनादिवाची.—Kātyāyana: आपादौपसर्जने निबन्धापि पूर्वपदत्वात्संदेहः.—Patanjali: आपादौपसर्जने निबन्धापि पदस्य पूर्वपदत्वात्संदेहो भवति । आपिपदवाचिणीचवाचीवनीमीवाः.

afterwards those of *Vyādi*, and ultimately those of *Gautama*. There can be no doubt that we have here a sequence of grammarians who wrote one after the other; but, if any doubt still existed, it would be dispelled by the grammatical properties of the compound itself; for a Vārttika to II. 2, 34, teaches that—unless there be reasons to prevent it—the name of the more important part must come first in a Dvandwa compound; and for a similar reason other Vārttikas teach that, for instance, in forming such a compound of the names of seasons, the name of the earliest season in the year must precede that of a subsequent one; or in compounding the names of castes, they must follow one another in their natural order; or in making a Dvandwa of the names of two brothers, the name of the older has precedence of the name of the younger.²³ But as none of the grammatical reasons taught

²³ Pāṇini, II. 2, 34: *अन्त्याध्वरम्*.—Vārttika 3 (of the Calc. ed.) *अन्वहितं च*.—*Patanjali*: *अन्वहितं पूर्वं विपततीति वक्तव्यम् । मातृपितरौ ब्रह्मणे*.—Vārttika 2 (of the Calc. ed.) *अनुवचनानामनुपूर्वेण समानाचारात्*.—*Patanjali*: *अनुवचन-*

by Pāṇini in previous rules would compel the component parts of the compound alleged to assume another order than that which they have, we can only interpret their sequence in the manner I have stated.²⁴ ✓

The descent from the height of the *Pratīśākhya*s to the level plain of the *Phitsūtras* would almost seem to require an explanation. Before I give it, however, I will refer to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, and state its opinion on the rela-

सामानुपूर्वेण समानाचाराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः । त्रिचिरवसनी.—Vārttika 5 (of the Calc. ed.) *वर्षानामनुपूर्वेण*.—*Patanjali*: *वर्षाणां चानुपूर्वेण पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणविदितमुद्राः*.—Vārttika 6 (of the Calc. ed.) *आनुवचनव्यवहारः*.—*Patanjali*: *आनुवचनव्यवहारः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । दुचिधिरानुलो*.

²⁴ Such a reason would be, for instance, if one part of the compound belonged to the words technically called *चि* (I. 4, 7—9); for in such a case the base *चि* would have precedence of a base ending in *च* (compare II. 2, 32). On this account the names of the three grammarians, Śākalya, Gārgya and Vyādi, form in the *Rik-Pratīśākhya*, XIII. 12, the *dvandwa*: *वाकिशाक्यगार्गी*.

tion of these Sūtras to Pāṇini. It is contained in the following words : ²⁴

“As to Śāntana's Phitsūtras, we know with less certainty to what period they belong. A knowledge of them is not presupposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śāntana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Boehtlingk has ingeniously concluded that Śāntana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians. As, however, these Sūtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vedic language only, the subject of Śāntana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusion from this.”

Once more I am unable to assent to the arguments of my learned predecessor on this subject. If the knowledge of a work, as he admits, is not presupposed by Pāṇini, it would seem to follow that such a work is not anterior but posterior to him, since it is scarcely

probable that he could have ignored the information it contains. Nor has Professor Müller given any evidence to show that the contents of the Phitsūtras are restricted to the Vaidik language only. On the contrary, the great bulk of the words treated of in these Sūtras belongs with equal right, and, in some respect, with much greater right, to the classical language, in preference to that of the Vaidik hymns or Brāhmaṇas. And as no word can be pronounced without an accent, it is not intelligible why such a treatise should not be of as great importance for the student who recites the Mahābhārata as for the priest who reads the R̥gveda poetry. Pāṇini himself has, indeed, embraced in his rules on accentuation a great number of words no trace of which occurs in the Saṁhitās. But even if the statement made by Professor Müller were unobjectionable, why should it follow that an author who— and because he—writes on a Vaidik subject, must, or is even likely to, be anterior to an author who treats of the classical literature? And Pāṇini moreover treated of both.

As little as I can adopt, on these premises, the conclusions Prof.

²⁴ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 152.

Müller draws, so little can I join in the compliments he pays to the ingenuity of Dr. Boehtlingk.²⁴⁵ For since Pāṇini himself, as I have

²⁴⁵ As in the case of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, and of the Uṇṣādī-Sūtras, the edition of the Phitsūtras also was entrusted by Dr. Boehtlingk to his compositor, who reprinted the text of these Sūtras from the Calcutta edition of the Siddhānta-kaumudī.—The difficulties offered by these Sūtras are not inconsiderable, and might have yielded good materials for many remarks. Dr. Boehtlingk's Commentary on them consists of 32 lines, which contain the substance of about 12, nearly all of which are insignificant. Even his very small Index to the Sūtras is imperfect; for it omits the Sūtra चचेति पादानि which he mistook for a part of the commentary on IV. 13, and the Sūtra उपसर्गोच्चारिष्वे which also he has reprinted as if it were a portion of the commentary on IV. 12, though he himself is doubtful as to its proper position there. He professes, too, to have given an Index of the contents, "for those who mean to pursue the subject." But as one of the latter, I had to make a thorough Index of all the technical symbols in the Sūtras, and also of a good number of real words which occur in the commentary and text, but which, in accordance with his notion of an Index, or through his usual inaccuracy, are omitted in his Index: e.g. संयत्त II. 13; अदिति IV. 15; चमि IV. 13; चत्वा I. 2; चत्वा I. 4; चाचर्वत्त IV. 11; इष्टवा III. 19; चतु II. 22; छक्-चात्त II. 22; छत्तिवा I. 21; छत्ति II. 8, and very many more. Of compounds he has never enabled the reader to find the latter part; and such general terms as चदात्त, सत्ति, अनुदात्त, चत्त etc., which are as indispensable for a student as the

shown before, makes use of the terms *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *tritīyā*, *chaturthī*, etc., and of *auṅg*, *āṅg* (in the sense of an instrumental in the singular),²⁴⁶ all of which are terms of the eastern grammarians, and, as everyone knows that Pāṇini did not belong to them, I can see no ingenuity in assigning Śāntana to this school on the sole ground of his having used terms which differ from those of Pāṇini; especially when these terms have no grammatical influence whatever, like the anubandhas of Pāṇini, and are not distinctly defined in the commentary as terms of the eastern grammarians.²⁴⁷

individual words themselves, are of course, also omitted. And all these remarks are suggested by the *edition* of a text which comprises no more than 88 Sūtras. It is, of course, needless for me to add that the trouble of consulting or using a very valuable commentary on these Sūtras, the *Phitsūtra-rīti*, does not enter into the plan of an editor whose activity in editing grammatical Sanskrit texts only consists in putting the printed Calcutta works into different type.

²⁴⁶ See notes 197, 220, and Pāṇini, VII. 3, 105.

²⁴⁷ Dr. Boehtlingk enumerates the terms which induced him to draw the inference alluded to by Müller, that Śāntana belonged to the eastern grammarians; and he adds, also the Sūtras where they occur, viz. चत्त II. 4, 19, 26; चत्त II. 3; चमत्त

✱The real reasons for this assumption, which I share in, must, in my opinion, be sought for elsewhere; and as they are connected with the question of the chronological relation of the Phitsūtras to Pāṇini, I will first explain why I speak of them after the Prātisākhya works.

It is because they stand on the same linguistic ground as the latter writings, and because it was safer to survey this ground in the wider field of the Prātisākhya literature than in the narrow precincts of the Sūtras of Śāntana. This having been done, we need now merely recall the results obtained.

II. 18; शिद् ॥ ६; सिक् ॥ १६; इय् ॥ २५. Amongst these, सिक् does not occur in the text of the Sūtras of Bhaṭṭoji, but is a *various reading* mentioned by him in his commentary, which reports on *this various reading* that it is a term of the eastern grammarians. The text of his Sūtras has *सुप्* instead of सिक्. As to the other quotations given by Dr. Boehtlingk, *not one* tells us that these terms are terms of the eastern grammarians. There was, consequently, not a particle of evidence to draw from *them* that inference which he so positively draws. It is a mere guess, the probable correctness of which is corroborated, but by such evidence as never occurred to him.

We have seen that the Prātisākhyas represent the mechanic treatment of the language, unlike Pāṇini's method, which is organic and shows the growth and life of the language he spoke. The same is the case in these Phitsūtras. Whereas Pāṇini endeavours to explain the accent of words by connecting it with the properties of the word,—whereas he seeks for organic *laws* in the accents of uncompounded or compounded words and, only reluctantly, as it were, abandons this path whenever he is unable to assign a general reason for his rules,—the Phitsūtras, like the Prātisākhyas, deal merely with the ready-made word,²⁴ and attach to it those mechanical rules which bewilder and confuse, but must have been well adapted for an intellectual condition fitted for admiring the Prātisākhya works. They belong, in my opinion, like the Prātisākhyas, not to the flourishing times of Hindu antiquity, but to its decadence.

²⁴ Phitsūtra, I. 1: किंो ऽन्त उद्गातः.—Phitsūtravṛttī: चर्चयद्वागुत्तरमन्वः (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 45) किद् । क्तचित्तवमावाचैति (comp. Pāp. I. 2, 46).—Compare also the end of note 253.

In the second place, we have seen that on the ground which is common to both, the Prātisākyas possess a far greater amount of linguistic material than Pāṇini does; and we had to conclude that Pāṇini could on no account have ignored the knowledge they conveyed, had they existed before his time. Precisely the same remark applies to the little treatise of Śāntana; for, brief as it is, it is richer in many respects than the *analogous* chapter which Pāṇini devoted to the same subject; and it would be inconceivable that Pāṇini should bring forward his rules, so much more incomplete in *substance* than the Phitsūtras, had they been the precursor of his work.

But, thirdly, we were compelled to admit that, at least, one of the Prātisākyas, that of Kātyāyana, was written with the direct intention of completing and criticising Pāṇini; and I may here observe, that Professor Weber has, with very good reasons, assigned to this grammarian a place within the Eastern school. These features, too, characterise the tract of Śāntana.

Some of his rules are delivered with the evident purpose of criticising Pāṇini, and we meet on one occasion with the remark of the commentator that the *eastern grammarians* point out the difference between a rule of Pāṇini and one of Śāntana, when the context in which this passage occurs leaves no doubt that they meant a criticism on Pāṇini. And from this remark alone I should conclude that Śāntana was one of their school, while, from all these reasons combined, I draw the inference that he must have written after Pāṇini.

I will give some proof to substantiate this view, and to show, moreover, that there are grammatical authorities in India who expressly imply the view here taken of the posteriority of these Sūtras to Pāṇini.

According to Pāṇini's rule, VI. 1, 213, a word *ibhāya* would have the *udatta* on the first syllable; Bhaṭṭojidīkshita, in his comment on the *Phitsūtras*, quotes this rule in order to show that Śāntana gave his Sūtra I. 5, with a view of stating that Pāṇini's

rule would not apply to this word.²² He quotes the same rule of Pāṇini for a similar purpose when he comments on I. 18,²³ for, according to this rule, *arya* is *net udatta* on the first, but on the last syllable; and also in his comment on IV. 8, for, according to this Sūtra, the words *tilya*, *śikhya* (*mārya*), *dhānya* and *kanyā*, are not *udatta* on the first, but *swarita* on the last syllable.²⁴ On the rule I. 7, Bhaṭṭoji reports that, in the opinion of certain grammarians, Śāntāna gave it in order to "kill" Pāṇini's rule VI. 2, 2.²⁵

²² Pāṇini, VI. 1, 213: यतो ऽणवः.—Phitsūtra, I, 5: अपूर्वस्य स्त्रीविषयस्य.—Bhaṭṭojid.: विषयवद्बन्धं किम् । एवा यतो ऽणव एवाबुदात्त एवाशब्दः.

²³ Phitsūtra, I. 18: चर्वस्य सात्वाका येत.—Bhaṭṭojid.: वाकाकात्तापूर्वमिति (III. 18) । यतो ऽणव एति बाबुदात्ते प्राप्ते वचनम् (where the word प्राप्ति sufficiently indicates Bhaṭṭoji's view of the chronological relation between Śāntāna and Pāṇini. The same rule is given by Kātyāyana in his Vārtika to Pāṇini, III. 1, 103).

²⁴ Phitsūtra, IV. 8: तिकाशिकसावर्ध्यावकनारावकनगुजाकासकः.—Bhaṭṭojid.: स्वरितः स्मात् । तिकावां भवन् येव तिकाव । यतो ऽणव एति प्राप्ति.—The Phitsūtra-vṛtti reads this Sūtra: तिकाशिकसावर्ध्यावकनारावकनगुजाकासकः००.

²⁵ Phitsūtra, I. 7: हिउवत्सरतिशतानाम्.—Bhaṭṭojid.: संवत्सरः । अल-
वपुर्वपदप्रतिलसरो (comp. Pāp. VI. 2, 2) ऽव वाक्यत एवाऽऽः.

Śāntāna's rule I. 23, Bhaṭṭoji says, contravenes Pāṇini's rule VI. 1, 197.²⁶ And it is the same grammarian who, when explaining, that *saka*, as a part of Śāntāna's rule IV. 13, is *udatta* on the last syllable, reports: "The eastern grammarians inform us that *saka* in Pāṇini's rule VI. 3, 78, is *udatta* on the first syllable;" and he adds the advice: "*think on that*."²⁷ But I find no evidence in the arguments of Dr. Boehtlingk, as regards the relation of Śāntāna.

²⁶ Phitsūtra, I. 23: ल्लेउकनिकवोर्ववहि.—Bhaṭṭojid.: अल उदरातः स्मात् । ल्लेउ
आह वमवा । एह विस्वाबुदात्त एव (comp. Pāp. VI. 1, 197).

²⁷ Phitsūtra, IV. 14 (not 13): एवादीनामकः.—Bhaṭṭojid.: एवादीनामिति अ-
ठाकारम् । एव । एवम् । युगम् । सह । ते युगपुरिभिः सह । वडल मुतीवे सहस्य स
एति (Pāp. VI. 3, 78) प्रकारे सहस्यस्व आबुदात्त एति प्राप्तिः । वडिक्कम्.—The state-
ment of the Prācīnas mentioned by Bhaṭṭojidīkabhāṭya is that of Patañjali in his com-
ment on VI. 3, 78, v. 1, viz.: आबुदात्तविपातनं करिष्यते; and Kātyāyana in referring
to Phitsūtra IV. 12, observes: विपाता आबुदात्ता एति सहस्यस्व आबुदात्तः. But
this reference of Kātyāyana by no means admits of the conclusion that he looked upon
Pāṇini's rule as more recent than this Phitsūtra; for this rule is not concerned with the
accent of सह; it is Patañjali who alludes to it; and Kātyāyana comments, in the words
alleged, on Patañjali, not on Pāṇini.

to the eastern grammarians, of his having followed the advice of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita. ✓

Of equal importance with these observations of Bhaṭṭoji, is a passage in the notes of Nāgajibhaṭṭa on Kaiyyāta, when the latter accompanies the gloss of Patanjali to Kātyāyana's Vārttika 6, to Pāṇini VI. 1, 158, with his own remarks. For Nāgajibhaṭṭa, after having observed that a rule of Pāṇini would contain a fault when compared with the standard of the Phitsūtras, pointedly winds up with the following words: "But, on the other hand, *these Phitsūtras, when considered in reference to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day.*"²⁴

²⁴ Vārttika 6 (of the Calc. ed.) to VI. 1, 158: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वाद्ग्रन्थिः.—Patanjali: प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादग्रन्थिः स्थातुः । प्रकृतिसंस्काराकारः । चणानुदात्तप्रत्ययः । एषति । पठति । प्रत्ययस्वरसावकाशः । चणानुदात्ता प्रकृतिः सम स्वर । स्वीकृत्यं प्राप्नोति । कर्तव्यम् । शैतरीयम् । विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्तरौ भविष्यति । शिवं विप्रतिषेधे परमिष्यति (I. 4. 2) । च परः प्रत्ययस्वरः । शिव दोषः । एषवाची परमन्तरः । विप्रतिषेधे परं यदिष्टं तत्रवतीति.—Vārttika 7 (of the Calc. ed.): विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्तर इति चेत्सावकाशादियु विस्कारजनः

It is clear, therefore, that the best Hindu grammarians, too,

—Patanjali: विप्रतिषेधात्म्यमन्तर इति चेत्सावकाशादवचितः कर्तव्यः । युक्ताव्यति । नोपायति । कृतीयते । शिव दोषः । प्रकृतिस्वरो ऽथ साधको भविष्यति । प्रकृतिस्वरो प्रत्ययस्वरभावः । कर्तव्यम् । शैतरीयम्—Kaiyyāta, on the preceding passages: विप्रतिषेधादिति । पूर्वविप्रतिषेधादिबर्कः । कर्त्तव्य इति । कर्त्तव्यचित्कारकं प्रत्याख्यातं तत्कर्तव्यमेव—Nāgajibhaṭṭa: सम स्मिन्नस्य स्वस्वमन्त्रिणेऽनुष्ठानीति (Phitsūtra, IV. 10) प्रकृतिरनुदात्ता । तिसृतिः शकुनीनां च शकु-पूर्वमिति (Phitsūtra, II. 21) मन्त्रोदात्तः । फिट्सरो ऽपि वाच्य इवेति शैतिरीये ऽपि दोषः । यदा फिट्सुवाचि पाणिन्येषवा साधुभिरनुष्ठातीति परस्वं बोध्यम्.—The Phitsūtra II. 21, referred to by Nāgajibhaṭṭa, is read differently in Bhaṭṭoji's text from that of the Vṛtti. I subjoin both readings with their commentary, in order to illustrate at the same time the nature of the latter commentary as compared with that of Bhaṭṭoji. The latter reads शकुनीनां च शकुपूर्वम्, and comments: पूर्व शकुदात्तं स्थातुः । फुटुटः । तिसृतिः.—The Phitsūtravṛtti reads शकुनीनां च शकुपूर्वात्तम्, and comments शकुपूर्वो येषां शकुनिवाचिनां कथावन्ते इत्येव यदुच्यते नुपसदात्तो भवति । कर्त्तव्यः । कर्त्तव्यः । कथीतः । शकुनीनामिति स्मि । यराहः । शकुपूर्वात्तामिति स्मि । फुटुटः । तिसृतिः । कर्त्तरीटः.—I may quote here a passage from Śāyana's Commentary on Rīgveda I. 1, 1, in order to obviate a misunderstanding of it.

looked upon these Sūtras not only as not anterior to Pāṇini, but as quite recent, when compared with his work.

On *Yáska*, Professor Müller expresses himself thus: ²³⁶

“There are some discussions in the beginning of the *Nirukta* which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology. While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers, as

With regard to the accent of the word **अगि** he writes: **गार्ग्यस्य मते णिग्यस्य स्वा-
स्यप्रामाण्यविरुद्धत्वात्किंचो ऽत्र उदात्त स्वतोदात्तस्यम्**. These words need not
mean that **गार्ग्या**, the predecessor of **पāṇini**, deducts from **Phīṣṣūtra** I. 1, the accent
of **अगि**, but they may—and, I conclude, do—mean: “since, according to the opinion
of **गार्ग्या**, **अगि** is an indivisible base (*i.e.* a base which must not be analysed; compare
note 249), its accent is the *addita* on the last syllable, agreeably to **Phīṣṣūtra** I. 1.—The
last reference, therefore, would belong to **सāyana**, not to **गार्ग्या**; and the only inference
we might be allowed to draw from the words of **सāyana** would be, that **गार्ग्या** looked
upon **अगि** as an *Unpādi*-formation (compare p. 171), and, perhaps—but not necessarily,—
that already in his time there existed a rule on accentuation similar in *purport* to that
of the **Phīṣṣūtra** alleged. It is not admissible, therefore, to adduce this passage in
proof that, in **सāyana**’s opinion, the **Phīṣṣūtras** were known to **गार्ग्या**.

²³⁶ **Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 163.**

expressed in the Cratylus, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the Brahmins of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the Prātisākhya of Kātyāyana we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles, another division of a purely grammatical nature and expressed in the most strictly technical language. '*Verbs* with their conjugational terminations; *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of Krit-suffixes; *Nouns*, derived from nouns by means of taddhita-suffixes, and four kinds of compounds,—these constitute language' [Vājas. Prāt. I. 27.]

“In the Nirukta this division is no longer considered sufficient. A new problem has been started, one of the most important problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns, were derived from verbs. The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that *kartṛi*, a doer, was derived from *kṛi*, to do; *pāchaka*, a cook, from *pach*, to cook. But

did the same apply to all words? Śakāṭyāna, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the *Nairuktas* (or Etymologists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches.²³⁷

It is sufficiently clear from the preceding words that Professor Müller considers Yāska as more recent than Kātyāyana, and since he himself admits (see above p. 193) "that there is nothing in the style of the *Prātisākhya* composed by Kātyāyana that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the *Prātisākhya*, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini," he must also consider the author of the *Nirukta* as subsequent to Pāṇini.

To refute his view on the relative position of Kātyāyana and Yāska, we need now merely point to the facts with which we are

already familiar. Müller's reason for Yāska's posteriority to Kātyāyana is founded, as we see, on the assumption that the problem of the derivability or non-derivability of *all* nouns from verbs had not yet been proposed in the time of Kātyāyana. But whence does he know this? The *Prātisākhya* of Kātyāyana is no sufficient testimony for establishing this theory. When Kātyāyana there says that nouns are either nouns derived from verbs, or nouns derived from nouns,—either *krit* or *taddhita* derivatives,—he has already said too much in a work of this kind, which has nothing to do with the origin of words, and which alludes to this and other matter, foreign to a *Prātisākhya* itself, only *because*, and *in so far as*, it concerns its *other purpose*, viz. that of criticizing Pāṇini. Whether or not therefore it dealt with a problem such as that of which Müller is speaking, is merely a matter of chance.

But this problem itself, as we have seen, is epitomized in the term *unnādi*. A grammarian who uses this term shows at the same time that he is cognizant of that division between the old grammarians which Yāska describes. For whichever side he

²³⁷ In the continuation of this passage Professor Müller gives the statement similar to that which is contained above, on page 171.

espouse, he has expressed by the term *unnādi*, that there are krit-derivatives which are of an exceptional kind and which are looked upon by some as being, strictly speaking, no derivatives at all. Now, I have quoted several instances which prove that Kātyāyana dealt with the question of *Unnādi* words. Hence he *was* aware of that problem discussed in the Nirukta; it was *not* "a new problem" to him; and all the inferences that may or may not be built on its absence in the Vājasaneyi-Prāśākhya become invalidated at once.

But the knowledge possessed by Pāṇini, of this problem itself would, of course, not prove anything as to his priority or posteriority to Yāska, who speaks of it. It leaves this question just where we find it, and we must seek for other evidence to settle it.

Such, I hold, is afforded by the fact that Pāṇini knows the name of Yāska, for he teaches the formation of this word and heads a Gaṇa with it.²²⁹ And as we know at present of but one

²²⁹ Pāṇini, II. 4. 63: शाकान्दिभ्यो ङीष्.

real Yāska in the whole ancient literature, a doubt as to the identity of the author of the Nirukta and the family chief adduced by Pāṇini, would have first to be supported with plausible arguments before it could be assented to.

A second and equally strong reason is, in my belief, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the grammatical *sarjñās* which occur in Pāṇini's work.

Amongst these terms there is one especially which allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pāṇini, viz., the term *upasarga*, prefix or preposition. Pāṇini employs it in many Sūtras; he does not define it; it must consequently have been in use before he wrote. Yāska, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it, as we may conclude from the following words of his Nirukta:—²³⁰

²³⁰ Nirukta, I. 3 (according to the edition of Professor Roth): इ विवेका उपसर्गो
उपसर्गिराहति शाकटादयो नामाकातयोषु इमोपसर्गोऽन्यतोऽका मवस्तुशासनाः
पदानां भवन्तीति शान्त्यस्य एषु पदानः प्राहुरिति न नामाकातयोऽप्यविवेकः सन् ।

which inheres in them ; it is this sense which modifies the sense of a noun or verb. The preposition *á* expresses the sense of limit (e.g. *up to the mountain*) ; *pra* and *pará* express the reverse of *á* (e.g. *gone forth or away*) ; *abhi*, the sense of towards (e.g. *gone towards*—in a friendly sense) ; *prati*, the reverse of *abhi* (e.g. *gone against*) ; *ati* and *su*, excellence (e.g. *having much wealth*, an excellent Bráhmaṇa) ; *nir* and *dur*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *having no wealth*, a bad Bráhmaṇa) ; *ni* and *ava*, downwardness (e.g. *he takes down*) ; *ud*, the reverse of these two (e.g. *he takes up*) ; *sam*, junction (e.g. *he takes together*) ; *vi* and *apa*, the reverse of *sam* (e.g. *he takes away*) ; *anu*, similarity or being after (e.g. *having a similar appearance*, he goes after) ; *api*, co-existence (e.g. *let it be a drop of butter*, a drop of honey) ;²⁰⁰ *upa*, excess (e.g. *he is born again*) ; *pari*, surrounding (e.g. *he puts round*) ; *adhi*, being above and

²⁰⁰ It seems to me doubtful whether संसर्ग implies the sense which is illustrated by the instance of Durga ; without his words, which clearly refer to Patanjali's comment on Pāṇini, I. 4. 96, I should have rendered संसर्ग by *union*, and thought of an instance like चपिनसृति.

superiority (e.g. *he stands over*, a supreme lord). In this manner they express various senses, and these have to be considered."

This passage records, as we see, besides the definition of Yāska, the opinions of Śākaṭāyana and of Gārgya ; it is silent on Pāṇini. Yet how much more complete and scientific is his treatment of the prepositions ! Durga, the commentator of Yāska, feels this defect in Yāska, for at the end of his gloss he says : " *upasargas* can only be joined to a verb, not to a noun ; it is therefore only through the mediation of the former that they can ascend also to the latter" (viz. in so far as nouns are derived from verbal roots).

Pāṇini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of *nipātas* or particles : he then continues, that they are *upasargas* when they are joined to "verbal action" (i.e. to a verb) ; *gatis*, if the verbal roots to which they are attached become developed into a noun ; and that they are *karna-pravachanīyas* if they are detached and govern a noun.²⁰¹ Of such

²⁰¹ Pāṇini, I. 4. 58 : प्रादयः ; 59 : उपसर्गाः क्तिवाद्योनिः 60 : गतिश्च ; 63 : कर्माप्रवचनीयाः.

a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta, which stops, as we see, at the speculations of Śakātáyana and Gárgya, both predecessors of Páṇini. Nor can the meanings which Yáska assigns to the prepositions, so far as completeness is concerned, be compared to those we meet with in the rules of Páṇini. *Adhi*, for instance, has with him not only the sense mentioned by Yáska, but that of "towards, by (severally), with regard to;" *ati*, that of "excellence and transgression;" *apa*, that of "exception;" *anu*, that of "in consequence of, connected with, less than, towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of;" *prati*, the sense of "towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of, instead of, in return of;" *pari*, the sense of *prati*, except in the two last meanings, and that of an "expletive;" *adhi*, that of "superiority and of an expletive."²²

It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yáska could have known the classes of *upasarga* as defined by Páṇini, and

²² Compare I. 4, 84—97.

their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted. But not knowing the grammar of Páṇini, is, in the case of Yáska, tantamount to having preceded it.

Though Yáska be older than Páṇini, and Páṇini older than Kátáyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Páṇini. No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it. But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity, which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha's* death, it must be of interest to know whether Páṇini is likely to have lived before or after this event.

Not only is the name of *Śákyamuni*, or Śákya, never adverted to in the Sútras of Páṇini,²³ but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable.

²³ The formation *शक्य* occurs in three Gāṇas; as a derivative from *शक्य* with *शक्य* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 105; with *शक्य* to IV. 3, 92, but there it becomes doubtful, through the difference in the readings of the MSS.; and as a derivation from *शक्य* with *शक्य* in the Gāṇa to IV. 1, 151.

The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss. The Brahmanic Hindus hope that their soul will ultimately become united with the universal spirit; which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter Brahman; and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god. And however indefinite this god Brahman may be, it is nevertheless, to the mind of the Brahmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist is entire *non-entity*. This difference between the goal of both created that deep and irreconcilable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brahmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate. The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brahmanic creed, like *apavarga*, *moksha*, *mukti*, *nirāśraya*, all mean either "liberation from this earthly career" or the "absolute good;" they therefore imply a condition of hope. The absolute end of a Buddhist is without hope; it is *nirvāṇa* or extinction.

This word means literally "*blown out*;" but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brahmanic and in the Buddhist literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction*, i.e., absolute annihilation of the soul. I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāṇa*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "*blown out*," or a sense immediately connected with it. Thus Patanjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances: "the fire is *blown out* by the wind, the lamp is *blown out* by the wind;" and Kaiyaṇa who, on the same occasion, observes that a phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāṇo vātaḥ*, but by *nirvāto vātaḥ*," corroborates the instances of Patanjali with one of his own: "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind." But Pāṇini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII. 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says:

“(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāna* (if the word means) ‘free from wind,’ (or, ‘not blowing, as wind’).”²⁴

This is the natural interpretation of Pāṇini's rule. *Kātyāyana*, it is true, gives a Vārttika which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhādhāne* “(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing);” yet it is very remarkable that Patanjali, in commenting on this Vārttika, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named; it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation: “(this Vārttika is given in order to show) that (*nirvāna*) is *also* or is emphatically used in the following instances.” Still he has no instance what-

²⁴ VIII. 2, 50: निर्वाणो ऽवाते.—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधानि.—Patanjali: अवातामिधानं इति वाक्यम् (these words have been mistaken for the Vārttika itself, in the Calcutta edition) । इहापि यथा स्वात् । निर्वाणो ऽधिर्वातेन । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेति ।—Kātyāyana: अवातामिधानं इति । तेन निर्वातो वात इत्येव वल्लिषिणो न नु मां निर्वाणमिति निर्वाणं वातेति भावमिति वार्तिककारस्य दर्शनम् । अने नु वातक्येनैव भाव्ये सर्वत्र निर्वाणमिच्छति । निर्वातो वातः । निर्वातं वातेति । निर्वाणः प्रदीपो वातेत्येव नु वातः अत्रमिति प्रतिषेधमात्रः.

ever for the sense stated by Pāṇini, and his word “*also*” or “*emphatically*” does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhādhāne* without any additional remark.

In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances. The sense of *nirvāna*, “free from wind (or not blowing),” had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhist faith. But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, “wind-still,” of Pāṇini; and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time; in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed.

The task I had proposed to myself would now seem to have

reached its natural close for the present; yet if, after this brief and imperfect attempt to do justice to one of the most difficult questions of Sanskrit literature, I were now to take leave of Pāṇini, even temporarily, without devoting a special word to Patanjali, I should fail in gratitude to this great teacher, who has supplied us with nearly all the materials for this discussion and its results.

"At what time," says Professor Müller,²⁸ "the Mahābhāṣya was first composed, it is impossible to say. Patanjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala; and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāṣya belonged to the third century. But the identity of Pingala and Patanjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations."

This is the only date, the fixing of which is called "*impossible*," in Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been

my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patanjali as the only one which I should venture to determine with anything like certainty.

I do so, because Patanjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pandit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions the time when he actually did live.

"If a thing," says Pāṇini, "serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale" (it has not the affix *ka*). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words "Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha," meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,—while they are not for sale. And, "why?" he asks. "The *Mauriyas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities. Good; (Pāṇini's rule) may apply to such (idols, as *they* sold); but as to idols which are hawked

²⁸ Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 244.

Yavanas besieged (imperfect) *the Mādhyamikas*. Why does Kātyāyana say, 'out of sight?' (because in such an instance as) 'the sun rose' (the verb must be in the aorist). Why 'notorious?' (because in such an instance as) 'Devadatta made a mat' (the verb must be in the preterit). Why does he say: 'but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb?' (because in such an instance as) 'According to a legend Vāsudeva killed Kansa' (the verb must likewise be in the preterit).²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ III. 2. 111: सप्ततन्त्रे सङ्—Kātyāyana: परोक्षे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये.—Patanjali: परोक्षे च लोकाविज्ञाति प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषये सङ् सप्ततन्त्रः । सप्तसप्ततन्त्रः सङ्गितम् । सप्तसप्ततन्त्रो माध्यमिकम् । परोक्षे इति किमर्थम् । उदादिबः । लोकाविज्ञात इति किमर्थम् । सकार कटं देवदत्तः । प्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनविषय इति किमर्थम् । सचाप संसं किञ्च वासुदेवः—Kātyāyana: परोक्षे चेति । सप्तसप्ततन्त्रपरोक्षोऽपि प्रत्यक्षयोव्यताभाषात्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभावाः.—Nāgajibhāṭṭa on these instances of Patanjali: भाषे सचानेति किम् । स पक्षो हि चेदानीकप्रयोक्तुर्दर्थनयोऽप्यीत्यर्थः । सप्तसप्ततन्त्रदाहारे तु गुणकाशः प्रवर्तते इति बोध्यम्.—That these instances, concern the moment at which Patanjali wrote them, is therefore certain, beyond all doubt. But we obtain at the same time an insight

Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nāgajibhāṭṭa, that he lived at the time—though he was not on the spot—when "*the Yavana besieged Agodhyā*" and at the time when "*the Yavana besieged the Mādhyamikas*." For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a proper use of the imperfect tense.

Now the *Mādhyamikas* are the well-known Buddhistio sect which was founded by *Nāgārjuna*.²⁶⁸ But here, it would seem,

into the critical condition of the later commentaries on Pāṇini, when we find, for instance, that the Kāśikā copies these instances, but without saying that they belong to Patanjali. The same is the case in the present edition of Pāṇini. On account of the importance of this passage of the Mahābhāṣya, I will remind the reader that it is contained in the MS. E.I.H. No. 330, the only one I could consult. The two MSS. of the Kāśikā in the library of the E.I.H. have instead of माध्यमिकाः, a word मध्यमिकारः; but since the latter is not only meaningless, but grammatically wrong, there can be no doubt that the reading of the MS. 330 is the only correct one.

²⁶⁸ See BERNIERI, Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, vol. I., p. 359: Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 1163 and the quotations there.

that at this early stage we are already at a chronological standstill. For the Northern Buddhists say that Nágárjuna lived 400, and the Southern Buddhists that he lived 500, years after Buddha's death. And again, while we believed that the researches of that admirable work of Professor Lassen had finally settled this latter date, and "for a last time,"—while we believed, in other words that it was 543 before Christ, Professor Müller seizes and shakes it once more and makes Buddha die 477 before Christ. Were I to agree with the opinion which he has elsewhere expressed,²⁰⁰ that "in the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two, is not to be despised," I should be out of all my difficulties. For since the difference stated as regards the life of Nágárjuna would not amount to more than 166 years, it would fall within the allotted space. But I am not so easily satisfied. Dates in Sanskrit literature, as anywhere else, are either no dates at all—and then

²⁰⁰ Ancient Sanskrit Literatur, p. 243.

they are not so much as precarious—or they are dates, and then we must look closely at them.

The doubts which Prof. Müller has expressed in reference to the assumed date of Buddha's death, viz., 543 B.C., are by no means mere vague and personal doubts. On the contrary, they are embodied in an elaborate discussion, which not only proves a conscientious research, but is extremely valuable on account of the opportunity it gives of surveying the real difficulties of the question, and of forming one's own opinion, with greater safety and ease: and, whether dissenting from him or not, one is happy to deal with his arguments.

My objection to them may be summed up in the commencing and the closing words of his own investigation.

"It has been usual," he says in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 264), "to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B.C. But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak. It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness. This may be true with regard to the

times after the reign of Aśoka. In historical times, any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful; but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning. As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism, as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brahmaṇas."

And, towards the close of his inquiry, he expresses himself thus (p. 298):—"At the time of Aśoka's inauguration, 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of Buddha. Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B.C. and not 543 B.C. Again, at the time of Chandragupta's accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death. Hence Buddha was supposed to have died $315 + 162 = 477$ B.C."

In quoting these two passages, I show at once that Professor Müller attaches no faith to the tradition which concerns the date of Buddha's death, but that he attaches faith to that which places Aśoka 218, and Chandragupta 162, years after that event. But if tradition is to be believed in one portion of the history connected with the rise and progress of the Buddhist faith, why not in another, and in all? The arguments which are good for the one case will equally apply to the other; and if tradition be wrong in fixing Buddha's death at 543 B.C., we must also reject it when giving the dates 162 and 218, and the sum total will then have no quantities out of which it can be produced. And this objection would seem to derive additional force from the very words of Professor Müller just quoted; for he says himself that the argument in favour of the date 543 B.C., so far as it is founded on the practical use made of this date, "may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka." But 218 after Buddha's death, is the date of Aśoka himself, and 162 that of Chandragupta, who preceded that king. Both, consequently, would, in Professor Müller's

opinion, deserve the same amount of belief as the date of Buddha's death itself.

The grounds on which Professor Müller differs from Professor Lassen have been fully discussed by him, as already observed; but as the essentials of this discussion lie in a nutshell, they admit of being here stated in reference to the question which actually concerns us.

Both scholars assume—and so long as Greek chronology deserves any credit at all, they do so, I hold, without the possibility of a contradiction—that Chandragupta, who is Sandrocottus, reigned 315 B.C. Buddhistic tradition, however, says that he lived 162 years after Buddha's death, which means that if this event took place 543 B.C., he reigned 381 B.C. But since 315 must be right, and 381 must be wrong, either Buddha's death occurred 477 B.C., or Chandragupta lived 66 years later than Hindu traditions allows him to live, viz., 228 years after 543 B.C. Lassen decides in favour of the latter alternative, no doubt, by saying to himself that since there is an error of 66 years, it was more likely

committed by tradition in remembering the ^{year} duration of the reign of kings who preceded Chandragupta, than in recording an event that was engrossing the national mind, and much more important to the national feeling and interest than an exact chronicle of by-gone, and some of them insignificant, kings. Müller prefers the precise tradition of 162 years, and therefore arrives at 477 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death.

Let us return, after this statement, to the events which Patanjali tells us occurred in his time, and confront them with the opinions of the two scholars named.

If Nágárjuna lived 400 years after Buddha's death, his date, according to Professor Lassen's conclusions, would be 143,—or, if he lived 500 years after this event, 43 years B.C. Again, his date, according to Professor Müller's conclusions, would be 77 B.C., or 23 after Christ. But I must mention, too, that Professor Lassen, on the ground occupied by him, supposes a further mistake of 66 years in the tradition which places Nágárjuna 500 years after Buddha's death, and that he thus also advocates the date of the

founder of the Mádhyamikas as 23 years after Christ.²⁷⁰ Now, since the sect which was founded by Nágárijuna existed not only simultaneously with, but after, him, that event which was contemporaneous with Patanjali and the Mádhyamikas, "*the siege of Ayodhyá by the Yavana*" must have occurred within or below the circle of these dates. The latter alternative, however, is again checked by the date of Abhimanyu, who reigned about 60 years after Christ; for we know from the chronicle of Kashmir that he introduced into his country the Commentary of Patanjali, which must consequently have been in existence during his reign.

In other words, the extreme points within which this historical event must have fallen, are the years 143 before, and 60 after Christ; and as in the time of Abhimanyu the Great Commentary had already suffered much, according to the report of Rájataranginí, it is necessary to limit even the latter date by, at least, several years.

²⁷⁰ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II. p. 412, 413.

Yet the word "*Yavana*" carries with it another corrective of this uncertainty. According to the researches of Professor Lassen it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, viz., between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only apply to the Greco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B.C.²⁷¹ And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyá. It is *Mausandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jumna river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurá. He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B.C.²⁷²

If then this inference be correct, Patanjali must have *written his commentary* on the Várttika to Páṇini III. 2, 111, between 140 and 120 B.C.; and this is the only date in the *ancient* literature of India which, in my belief, rests on more than ~~mere~~ *mere* hypothesis.

²⁷¹ Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. II., p. 392.

²⁷² Ibid. vol. II. p. 393.

But it has also the merit of giving that "new evidence" which Professor Müller requires for a corroboration of the chronology of Ceylon. For none of the fluctuating dates I have mentioned will allow us to look upon Menandros and the Mádhyanikas as contemporaries, except the date 143, which was the extreme limit of the date of Nágárjuna's life. And since, on the basis of tradition, this date again becomes impossible,—unless we claim amongst those alleged, 543 for the time of Buddha's death, and 400 years for the succession of Nágárjuna,—Patanjali's Great Commentary becomes invaluable also in this respect, and more especially to those who are concerned in Buddhist chronology.

Of the lineage of Patanjali all the knowledge I possess is that the name of his mother was *Goniká*.²² It occurs in the last words of Patanjali on a *Káriká* to Pánini. Of more importance, however, is the information he gives us of his having resided tem-

²² Patanjali, after quoting the *Kárikás* to I. 4, 51 gives *his own opinion*, and concludes with these words (MS. E.I.H. No. 171), **उभयथा नोदिकापुत्रः**.—Nágajibhatta: **नोदिकापुत्रो मायकार इत्युक्तः** (thus MS. E.I.H. 349; the MS. 1208 **नोदिकापुत्रः**).

porarily in *Kashmir*,²³ for this circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary.

His birthplace must have been situated in the East of India, for he calls himself *Gonardíya*;²⁴ and this word is given by the *Kásika* in order to exemplify names of places in the East. Patan-

²³ III. 2, 114: **विभावा साकाङ्गे**.—Patanjali: **विमुद्राहरणम् । अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमीरेषु वत्सानः । तत्र ससूत्याख्यानः । अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमीराननच्छाम । तत्र ससूत्रपिबाम । अवेत । पुत्रे परसाकाङ्गतीति साकाङ्गं खात । परं तु क्वं साकाङ्गम् । परमपि साकाङ्गम् । अस्मास्मिन्साकाङ्गे ततः साकाङ्गम्.—Kátyáyana: विभावा साकाङ्गे सर्वत्र ।—Patanjali: विभावा साकाङ्गे सर्वेति वक्तव्यम् । क्व सर्वत्र । यदि चावदि य । यदि तावत् । अभिवागसि देवदत्त यत्करमीराननच्छामः । अवेदि । अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमी- यत्तपीदं नोच्छामहे । यत्तपीदनममुच्छामहे । अवेदि । अभिवागसि देवदत्त करमी- राननच्छामः । करमीराननच्छाम । तपीदं नोच्छामहे । तपीदनममुच्छामहे ।**

²⁴ Patanjali to I. 1, 21, v. 2 (of the Calcutta edition; p. 412 ed. Ballantyne): **नोव- दीयस्त्वाह** etc.—Kátyaya: **मायकारस्त्वाह** etc.—Nágajibhatta: **नोवदीयस्यदे मायकार इति**.—It is on this authority that the word *Gonardíya* has found a place amongst the epithets of Patanjali in Hemachandra's Glossary.

jali's birthplace had therefore the name of *Gonarda*.²⁶ But that he is one of the eastern grammarians is borne out also by other evidence. Kaiyyāṭa calls him on several occasions *Āchārya-dēśiya*.²⁷ If we interpreted this word according to Pāṇini's rules

²⁶ The *Kārikā* to I. 1, 75: एह प्राचां देशे, gives the instances : एहीपचनीयः । गोपदीयः । गोबकदीयः । गोबरीयः (thus MS. E.I.H. 2440; the MS. 829, which is generally more incorrect than the former, has the plurals instead of the singulars : गोप्राः). Professor Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II., p. 484) assumes a connection between *Gonardiya* and *Gonarda*, the name of a king of Kashmir; but I believe that my explanation is supported by the whole evidence combined.

²⁷ For instance, *Patanjali* to VI. 1, 158, v. 1 (of the Calcutta edition) writes : यदि पुनरयमधिकारो विज्ञायेत etc.; and Kaiyyāṭa introduces his comment on these words with : आचार्यदेशीय आह यदि पुनरिति and so on, in a similar manner, on other occasions. An instance, however, which will better bear out my conclusion, is afforded by the combined *Vārttika-Kārikā* of Kātyāyana (see note 114), and the commentaries to V. 2, 39. After the words of the *Sūtra*, *Patanjali* says : किमर्थे परित्याग इत्युच्यते । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्परित्यागग्रहणं करोति तन्नापस्तम्बाचार्यः । चम्बलमाद्यन्यपरित्यागमिति; then follows the first *Vārttika* (or first portion of the *Kārikā* of Kātyāyana) : उवाताचार्येणैवातिदेशः पृथगुच्यते, which again is followed by the further comment of *Patanjali*. In reference to

V. 3, 67 and 68, it would mean “an unaccomplished teacher;” but as there is not the slightest reason for assuming that Kaiyyāṭa intended any irony or blame when he applied this epithet to *Patanjali*, it is necessary to render the word by the teacher “who belongs to the country of the *Āchārya*.” Now, since Kaiyyāṭa also distinctly contrasts *āchārya*, as the author of the *Vārttikas*, with *āchāryadēśiya*, the latter epithet can only imply that *Patanjali* was a countryman of Kātyāyana. Kātyāyana, however, as Professor Weber has shown by very good arguments, is one of the eastern school; Kaiyyāṭa, therefore, must have looked upon *Patanjali* also as belonging to it.

Another proof is afforded by a passage in the comment of Bhaṭṭo-

this passage, Kaiyyāṭa expresses himself in this way : किमर्थमिति । प्रमाद्यपरित्यागग्रहणयोरेकार्थत्वं मत्वा प्रश्नः । न प्रमाद्य इति वर्तते इति । आह्ला नञः प्रयोबाधत एवेत्यर्थः । चम्बलमाद्यलक्ष्मिपातनाचां नमुग्रद्वयार्थे नञ्बन्धो वर्तते । आचार्यदेशीय आह । एवं तर्हि । आचार्ये आह उवातामिति etc. He therefore contrasts *āchārya*, who is the author of the *Vārttika* *Uvātā*, with *āchāryadēśiya*, who is *Patanjali*

jidkshita on the Phitsútras which I have quoted above.²⁷⁸ For when this grammarian tells us that the *eastern* grammarians attribute the accent in question of *saka* to Páṇini's rule VI. 3, 78, we find that it is *Patanjali* himself who gives us this information and without any intimation of his having obtained it from other authorities.

I conclude these few remarks on our great teacher with an account which *Bhartrihari* gives of the early history of the Mahábháshya. It is of considerable interest, inasmuch as we learn from it that there was a party of grammarians who preferred to it the Sangraha (of Vyádi), and still more so, as it informs us, that Patanjali's Commentary was founded on this great grammatical work of the relative of Páṇini. The passage in question occurs at the end of the second chapter of *Bhartrihari's Vákyapadīya*, and, in reference to the word *Bháshtya*, which immediately precedes it, makes the following statement : ²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ See page 218.

²⁷⁹ The text of this passage belongs to the MS. No. 954 in the Library of the Home

“ After Patanjali had obtained the aid of [*or* had come to] grammarians who had mastered the new sciences more or less [*literally* : in their full extent and in their abridged form], and after he had

Government for India, which in a few days will have ceased to be the Library of the East India House. It bears on its outer leaf the corrupt title वाक्यपदीयाकारः, but at the end of its three chapters the words : इति श्रीमनुहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये प्रथममकांडः (sic.); द्वितीयं काण्डम्; तृतीयः काण्डः.—I call it Vákya-padīya, because, the MS. in question being very incorrect, I cannot give its reading any preference to the reading वाक्यपदीय by which this work is several times quoted in the portion of the Mahábháshya edited by Dr. Ballantyne. For, the identity of both results from a comparison I have made between the passages quoted in this highly valuable edition and the MS. before me. It is right, however, to mention that the second chapter of the work concludes in this MS. in the following manner : मनुहरिकृते वाक्यपदीये द्वितीयं काण्डम् । समाप्ता वाक्यपदीयका, where the reading वाक्यपदीयका, when corrected to °पिका, admits of a sense, but suggests also the conjecture that it may be a corruption of वाक्यपदीयिका. I now transcribe the passage in question literally, in order to show the condition of the MS., and also to enable the reader to supply better conjectures than I may have made; but some conjectures I have been compelled to make in order to impart a meaning to a few very desperate lines. These conjectures are added in []. After the words एकमेव निदेशो भाष्य एव प्रदर्शितः, which are

acquired the *Saṅgraha* [of Vyādi], he, the Guri, well versed in the sacred sciences, connected all the original nyāyas in the *Mahābhāṣya*. But when it was discovered that this Commentary could not be fathomed on account of its depth, and that the minds of those who were not quite accomplished floated, as it were, on

connected with the subject treated of in the second chapter, *Bhārti-yāsi* continues: प्रायेण संप्रतुपीनञ्चविद्यापरिग्रहान् [प्रायेण संप्रतुप सञ्चविद्यापरिग्रहान्] । संग्राह्य वै-
चाकरखान् संग्रहे सुपान्वते [संग्राह्य वैचाकरखास्यंग्रहे सुपान्वते] । इतरे च पातञ्जलि
या नुस्त्रा तीर्षदर्थिना [इतरे एव सतञ्जलिना०] । सर्वेषां न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये
निबन्धने [निबन्धने] । चक्षन्नाथे नानादौडुत्तान इव मोडवान् [चक्षन्नाथे नाना-
दौडुत्तान इव मोडवान्] । तस्मिन्कृतनुवीनां विद्यावास्तवनिबन्धः [.... विद्यावस्तु०]
। वैश्वीमीनसहस्रधेः [०६:] नुष्कतकोनुसारिभिः । चापे विद्याविते यसे [यत्ने] संग्र-
हप्रतिकर्षुभिः [०६:] । यः पातञ्जलियसिधौ चष्टो न्याकरखात्मः [यः पातञ्जलियसि-
धौ स्यष्टी००] । कास्मिन् दारिषाबिधौ युंजमात्रे [यन्त्र०] खण्डितः । पर्येतादानम्
सञ्ज्या भाष्यवीजानुसारिभिः । स भीतो वज्राश्रयसं चंद्राचार्योदितिः [वज्रा००]
पुनः । न्यायप्रखानमार्गोपायस्य च्छं [स्वं] च दर्शयन् । प्रसीतो नुस्त्राशास्त्रमयः० ।
भावमयस्यहः [प्रसीतो नुस्त्राशास्त्रमयः०] । The subsequent words, which conclude
the second chapter, concern the subject-matter of the work, not the history of the
Mahābhāṣya.

the surface, in consequence of their levity, those grammarians who liked dry reasoning, Vajji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, who were partisans of the Sangraha, cut in pieces the book of the Rishi [Patanjali]. That grammatical document [*or* manuscript of the Mahábhashya], which was obtained from the pupils of Patanjali, then remained for some time preserved in one copy only amongst the inhabitants of the Dekhan. Chandra, again, and other grammarians, who went after the original of the Bhásya, obtained this document from Parvata, and converted it into many books [*that is to say*, took many copies of it], and my Guru, who thoroughly knew the ways of logical discussion and his own Darśana, taught me the compendium of this grammatical work." 280

²⁸⁰ This passage will now aid us also in a correct understanding of the interesting verse from the *Rājastaragīnī*, which has been quoted, but blighted, by Dr. ~~Smith~~ ^{Smith} in the version he gives of it (vol. II. p. xv and xvi). This verse reads in the Calcutta edition of the latter work (I. 176) : चक्रपार्यादिनिर्मित्यादेशं तस्यात्तादकलम् । प्रवर्तितं महा-
भाष्यं सं च आकारं जतम् । Mr. Troyer, in his edition, substitutes for the latter words

A perusal of the foregoing pages will probably have raised the question in the reader's mind, why I have attached an investigation

वचनार्थस्य भवति. Both readings are alike good, for they convey the same sense; and the correction वचनार्थस्य for वचनार्थस्य, as proposed by Dr. Boehtlingk, is no doubt also good. But the double mistake he has committed in this single verse consists first in giving to वचनार्थस्य the sense of 'coming,' whereas the passage from the *Vākyapadiya* proves that it must there have the sense of "a written document or manuscript," and secondly, in arbitrarily assigning to the causal of वचनार्थस्य the sense of "introducing" in its European figurative sense, which the causal of वचनार्थस्य never has. The verse in question would therefore not mean, as Dr. Boehtlingk translates it: "After the teacher Chandra and others had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order to come there (or to him), they introduced the Mahābhāṣya and composed a grammar of their own"—but: "After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order, they established a text of the Mahābhāṣya, such as it could be established by means of his MS. of this work (literally: they established a Mahābhāṣya which possessed his—the King's—grammatical document, or, after they had received from him the order and his M.S., they established the text of the Mahābhāṣya) and composed their own grammars." For we know now that Chandra and the other grammarians of King Abhimanyu obtained such an āgama or manuscript of the Mahābhāṣya from Parvata, and according to the corresponding verse of the *Rājataranginī*, it becomes probable that this MS. came into possession of Abhimanyu.

of the place which Pāṇini holds in Sanskrit literature to the text of the present ritual work?

I will answer this question without reserve. It is because I hold that an inquiry like this was greatly needed in the present critical position of Sanskrit philology; and that no ancient text, whatever its nature, should remain any longer,—much less should come for a first time,—before the public without pre-supposing in its readers a full knowledge of the literary problems I have here been dealing with. For whether my views meet with approval or not, I have, I believe, at least shown that the mode in which these problems have hitherto been discussed, is neither adequate to the difficulties with which they are beset, nor to their bearings on the scientific treatment of the Sanskrit language itself.

No one, indeed, can be more alive than I am myself to the conviction of how much may be added, in the way of detail, to the facts I have adduced; for, however imperfect my present attempt and my own knowledge may be, I still could have largely increased the foregoing inquiry with materials taken from the

Brāhmaṇa-, Upanishad-, and the philosophical literature. I have not done more than allude to the contents of Pāṇini's Grammar and I have scarcely hinted at the linguistic results which may be derived from a comparison between Kātyāyana and Patañjali, on the one side, and the recent grammatical literature (which is represented by the Kāsikā, the Sūdhānta-kaumudī with its Prādhamaṇoramā, and the commentators on the Dhātupāṭha and the artificial poetry), on the other. For my present object was merely to convey a sense of the inherent difficulties of the questions I have been speaking of, and while tracing the outlines of my own results, to offer so much evidence, as was strictly necessary for supporting them with substantial proof.

Before, however, I add some words on the *practical object* I had in view in entering upon this investigation, both justice and fairness require me to avow that the immediate *impulse* which led to the present attempt was due to Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature. So great is my reluctance to the public discussion of literary questions, if such a discussion requires a con-

siderable amount of controversy, and so great is my reluctance to raising an edifice of my own, if, in order to do so, I am compelled to damage structures already in existence, that this feeling would in all probability have prevented me now, as it has done hitherto, from giving public expression to my views, had it not been for the importance I attach to Müller's work. This work reached me, as already mentioned, when the first pages of this Preface were completed; and it was the new material it brought to light, and the systematic and finished form by which its author imparted to his theories a high degree of plausibility, which induced me to oppose to it the facts I have here made known and the results I have drawn from them.

And, as everyone has his own way of paying compliments, this avowal is the compliment which I pay to Professor Müller's work. For as I myself care but little for blame, and much less for praise, so long as I consider that I have fulfilled my duty, I could not but assume that he, too, would much prefer, to un instructive panegyrics which anyone could inflict on him, such

we have derived from an insight into the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Hitopadeśa, the Sakuntalā, through the labours of those great scholars, Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Böpp, and others, who are before the mind's eye of every Sanskritist. But the time of pleasure had to give way to a time of more serious research. The plays and fables are delightful in themselves, but they do not satisfy the great interests of Sanskrit philology. Our attention is, now engrossed, and rightly so, by the study of grammar, of philosophy, and, above all, of that literature of ancient India, which—very vaguely and, in some respects, wrongly, but at all events conveniently—goes by the name of the Vaidik literature. With the commencement of that study we always associate in our minds such great names as those of a Colebrooke, a Wilson, a Burnouf, a Lassen; the courageous and ingenious pioneers who opened the path on which we are now travelling with greater safety and ease.

But whence was it that they were able to unfold to us the first secrets of ancient Hindu religion, of ancient Hindu philosophy and

dissent as I have here expressed, as it can only lead either to confirmation of the opinions he has advanced, or, by correcting them, to an attainment of that scientific truth for which both of us are earnestly labouring.²¹

And now I shall speak my mind as to the necessity I felt for writing these pages in view of the present critical position of Sanskrit philology.

The study of Sanskrit commenced, not with the beginning but with the end of Sanskrit literature. It could not have done otherwise, since it had to discover, as it were, the rudiments of the language itself, and even the most necessary meanings of the most necessary words. We have all been thankful—and our gratitude will never suffer through forgetfulness—for the great advantage

²¹ Almost simultaneously with the last proof sheets I received the second edition of Professor Müller's "History of Sanskrit Literature." As both editions entirely correspond in their typographical arrangements, and I believe, in their contents also, the quotations here made from the first edition, will be found on the same pages of the second.

scientific research ? It was through the aid of the commentaries, in the first rank of which stands that of Patanjali ; in the second the works of those master minds, the most prominent of whom are Śaṅkara and Mādhava-Sāyaṇa. Without the vast information these commentators have disclosed to us,—without their method of explaining the obscurest texts,—in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at the outer doors of Hindu antiquity.

But to understand the value of these great commentators and exegetes, we must bear in mind the two essentials which have given them the vast influence which they have acquired. The first is the *traditional*, and the second the *grammatical*, element that pervades their works.

The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition. *Śruti*, or Veda, was revealed to the Rishis of the Vaidik hymns. Next to it comes *Smṛiti*, or tradition, which is based on the revealed texts, and which is authoritative only in so far as it is in accordance with them. Hence a commentator like Mādhava-Sāyaṇa, for instance, considered it as incumbent on him to prove that he had not merely

mastered the Vaidik texts, but the Mīmāṃsā also, one portion of which is devoted to this question of the relation between Śruti and Smṛiti-works. It is known that he is one of the principal writers on the Mīmāṃsā philosophy. Without tradition, the whole religious development of India would be a shadow without reality, a phantom too vague to be grasped by the mind. Tradition tells us through the voice of the commentators, who re-echo the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inferences they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical,—in a word, on their national, development. And this is the real, the practical, and therefore the truly scientific interest they have for us ; for all other interest is founded on theories devoid of substance and proof, is *imaginary and phantastical*.

But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sāyaṇa, or even a copy of him, like Mahidhara, contented himself with being the mouth-piece of his predecessors or ances-

tors. They not only record the sense of the Vaidik texts and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself*. And this proof, which they give whenever there is the slightest necessity for it—and in the beginning of their exegesis, even when there is no apparent necessity for it, merely in order to impress on the reader the basis on which they stand,—this proof is the great grammatical element in these commentatorial works.

In short, these great Hindu commentators do not merely explain the meanings of words, but they justify them, or endeavour to justify them, on the ground of *the grammar of PĀNINI, the Vārtikas of KĀTYĀYANA, and the Mahābhāṣya of PATAÑJALI*.

Let us recall, then, the position we have vindicated for Pāṇini and Kātyāyana in the ancient literature, and consider how far this ground is solid ground, and how far, and when, we may feel justified in attaching a doubt to the decisions of so great a scholar as Śāyana.

We have seen that within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the Saṁhitās of the Rīg-Sāma- and Black-Yajurveda, and among individual authors, only the exegete Yāska preceded Pāṇini,—that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to his eight grammatical books. We have seen, moreover, that *Kātyāyana* knew the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* and the *Śātapatha-brāhmana*, and that, in consequence, we may assign to him, without fear of contradiction, a knowledge of the principal other Brāhmaṇas known to us, and probably of the *Atharvaveda* also.

Such being the case, we must then conclude that Śāyana was right in assenting to Patañjali, who, throughout his Introduction to Pāṇini, shows that Pāṇini's Grammar was written in strict reference to the Vaidik Saṁhitās, which, as I may now contend, were the three principal Saṁhitās. He is right, too, in appealing, wherever there is need, to the *Vārtikās* of Kātyāyana; for the latter endorses the rules of Pāṇini when he does not criticise them, and completes them wherever he thinks that Pāṇini had omitted to

notice a fact. And since we have found that the Rik-Pratishākhya fulfils the same object as these Vārtikas, viz. that of completing the rules of Pāṇini, and that Kātyāyana's Pratishākhya, which is later than that attributed to Śaunaka, preceded his own Vārtikas, we must grant, too, that he was right in availing himself of the assistance of those works, all of which are prior to the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana.

That analogous conclusions apply to the *Ishtis* of Pantanjali and to the *Phitsūtras* of Śāntana is obvious. √

But it is from *the chronological position* in which these works stand to one another that we may feel justified in occasionally criticising the decisions of Śāyana. Without a knowledge of it, or at least without a serious and conscientious attempt at obtaining it, all criticisms on Śāyana lay themselves open to the reproach of mere arbitrariness and superficiality.

For, if the results here maintained be adopted, good and substantial reasons—which, however, would first have to be proved—might allow us to doubt the correctness of a decision of Śāyana :

if, for instance, he rejected an interpretation of a word that would follow from a rule of Pāṇini, on the sole ground that Kātyāyana did not agree with Pāṇini ; or, if he interpreted a word merely on the basis of a Vārtika of Kātyāyana, we might fairly question his decision, if we saw reason to apply to the case a rule of Pāṇini, perhaps not criticised by Kātyāyana. Again, if we had substantial reasons for doing so, we might oppose our views to those of Śāyana when he justified a meaning by the aid of the *Phitsūtras* alone, though these *Sūtras* may be at variance with Pāṇini, for we should say that these *Sūtras*, “when compared to Pāṇini, are as if they were made to-day.”

In short, the greater the distance becomes between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have a plausible ground for looking forward, in preference to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head. Even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge, if we found Yāska opposed to him ; and Gārgya, Śākalya, Śakatāyana, or the other predecessors of Pāṇini, would deserve more serious consideration

than himself, if we were able to see that they maintained a sense of a Vaidik word which is differently rendered by him.

This is the critical process to which I hold that the commentaries of Sāyana may be subjected, should it be deemed necessary to differ from them.

These remarks apply, of course, only to the Sāmhitās which preceded Pāṇini; for, as to the literature which was posterior to him, Kātyāyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority, and after him comes Patanjali. I need not go further, for I have sufficiently explained the method I advocate, and the exception I take to that dogmatical schooling of these ancient authorities, which, so far from taking the trouble of conscientiously ascertaining their *relative chronological position in the literature* merely exhibits, at every step, its own want of scholarship.

I must now, though reluctantly, take a glance at the manner in which the Vaidik texts, more especially their groundwork, the Sāmhitās, nay, how the whole Sanskrit literature itself, is dealt with by those who profess to be our teachers and our authorities. And

still more reluctantly must I advert to one work especially, which, above all others, has set itself up as our teacher and authority—the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy.

The principles on which this work deals with the Vaidik texts is expressed by Professor Roth in his preface to it, in the following words:²²² "Therefore we do not believe, as H. H. Wilson does,²²³ that Sājana better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says; on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sājana. We do not consider it the [our] immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in

²²² "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Bohtlingk und Rudolph Roth." Preface, p. v.

²²³ Note of Professor Roth: "Rig-Veda-Samhitā. A collection of ancient Hindu hymns, &c. Translated from the original Sanskrit. By H. H. Wilson. London, 1850. I. p. 25."

India some centuries ago,²⁴ but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases. We consequently hold that the writings of Sājana and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task, which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual. On this account we have much regretted that the meritorious edition of the commentary on the R̥igveda, by Müller, is not yet more advanced.²⁵

"We have, therefore, endeavoured to take the road which is

²⁴ Note of Professor Roth: "Wilson, a. a. O. II. p. xxiii." But the page quoted by Professor Roth does not contain one single word in reference to the passage which it apparently intends to bear out.

²⁵ The first part of the Dictionary of Professor Roth and Dr. Boehtlingk was issued in 1852; the first volume, which is prefaced by the words quoted, in 1855; the first and second part of the second volume in 1856; the third part of the same volume in 1857. Professor Müller's first volume of the R̥igveda appeared in 1849, the second in 1854, the third in 1856.

prescribed by philology: to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the passages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense; a road which is slow and tedious, and which, indeed, has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators. Our double lot has, therefore, been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers. The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."²⁶

It would be but common fairness to allow these words of

²⁶ In reference to this view of Professor Roth, of the relation of the H̥yāda commentators to the Vaidik hymns, Professor Weber says in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. X. p. 575: "Allem was darüber gesagt ist schliessen wir uns auf das Unbedingteste und Entschiedenste an;" i. e. "To all that has been said on it [on this relation, in the Preface of the Wörterbuch] we (etc., does Professor Weber speak in his own name or in that of the whole Dictionary-company?) assent in the most unconditional and in the most peremptory manner."

Professor Roth to be followed by the entire preface which the lamented Professor Wilson has prefixed to the second volume of his invaluable translation of the *Rigveda*: the more so, as his views have been unscrupulously distorted in the statement here quoted; for though his views are supposed to be refuted by this passage, they could not shine brighter, in genuine modesty, in true scholarship, and in thorough common sense, than when placed by the side of this passage, which I will not qualify but analyze. But as I could not easily quote some twenty pages from Professor Wilson's excellent work, and as I should scarcely do justice to the manes of that distinguished man if I did not allow him to give his full answer, I must leave it to the reader to obtain for himself that contrast to which I here advert.

If, then, we analyze the ideas and principles presented in the passage just quoted, they come before us to the following effect:—

(1) *Sāyana* gives us only that sense of the *Veda* which was current in India some centuries ago.

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than *Sāyana* and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the *Veda*.

(3) For, he can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas *Sāyana* and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess its sense.

(4) He is above confining himself to the purely etymological process, which is that of these commentators.

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the *Veda* which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases.

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete.

Before I give my *Vārtikas* to these six *Sūtras*, which define the exegetical position of the Sanskrit *Wörterbuch*, I must observe that I am compelled, by the very nature of this Preface, to leave them in a similar position to that occupied by the Preface of Professor Roth itself. His Dictionary is the test of the assertions he makes. The test of my remarks would be a critical review of his

Dictionary. *I hereby promise him that my earliest leisure will be devoted to this review, especially as my materials for it are not only collected and ready, but so abundant as to give me a difficulty of choice.* But my present answer must, of necessity, deal with his generalities only in general terms.

(1) Śāyana or the other commentators give us, he intimates, only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago.

A bolder statement I defy any scholar to have met with in any book. Śāyana incessantly refers to Yāska. All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions*—of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creed of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith in his time; yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large, authoritatively and *without a particle of evidence*, that these legends and his version of the R̥gveda are but some centuries old. I believe, and every learned Hindu will hold with me, that Śāyana would have been hooted out of the country where he

lived, had he dared to commit the imposition implied in this charge, on King Bukka, his lord, or on his countrymen. I hope, however, that Professor Roth will free himself from the reproach expressed by these words, by showing on what authority he gives such a piece of information, which is either all important for Europe as well as for India, or places him in the most ridiculous position that is conceivable.

(2) When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do, we are entitled to infer that he is, at all events, thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has done. I am well aware,—I may add through the pleasure of personal remembrances,—that Professor Roth passed some time at Paris, and some little time in London also, when collecting his valuable materials for his edition of Yāska's Nirukta. Only in London and at Oxford, and, in some small measure, at Paris also, are the materials requisite for studying the Vaidik commentaries of Śāyana obtainable in Europe. Does Professor Roth intimate by the statement above quoted, that his stay in these cities enabled him to

study and copy, for his lexicographical purposes—then not thought of—all the works of Śāyana; or that he, at Tübingen, is in possession of all those materials, the knowledge of which alone could entitle him to claim credit for a statement like that which he has ventured to make? But I need not pause for his reply. He regrets, as we have read, that “the meritorious edition by Müller, of Śāyana’s Commentary was not further advanced” when he closed the first volume of his Dictionary. Thus, when he began his “exegetical” work, he was only acquainted with the Commentary of Śāyana as far as the first Ashtaka; and when he wrote these lines, he may *perhaps* have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Ashtaka—in other words, no more than a third of Śāyana’s whole Commentary on the R̥gveda; and yet he ventures to speak of the whole Commentary of Śāyana, and to say that he can do what Śāyana was unable to perform? But we almost forget that the words of Professor Roth are by no means restricted to the R̥gveda Commentary alone; it embraces the commentaries to *all the Saṁhitās*. And here I am once more compelled to ask—

Does he assert that he knew, when he wrote these words, Śāyana’s Commentary on the Sānaveda and the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, or even Śāyana’s Commentary on the Śatapatha-Brahmana? For surely he would not think of calling that Śāyana’s Commentary to this Brahmana, which has been presented to us extracted and mangled in Professor Weber’s edition of the Śatapatha-Brahmana. And yet he has the courage to pass this sweeping condemnation on all these gigantic labours of the Hindu mind, while ignorant of all but the merest fraction of them?

(3) Professor Roth no doubt enjoys a great advantage when he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word which occurs in them; but I beg to submit that there are many instances in which a Vaidik word does not occur twenty or ten, nor yet five or four times, in the Saṁhitās. How does he, then, muster his ten or twenty passages, when, nevertheless, he rejects the interpretation of Śāyana? For it would seem that in such a case the “guessing” of Śāyana, as he calls it, stands on as good ground as his own. But the assurance with

which he implies that Śāyana was not capable of mustering ten or twenty passages which are at the command of Professor Roth, presupposes, indeed, in his readers a degree of imbecile credulity which is, no doubt, a happy condition of mind for those who rejoice in it, and perhaps that best fitted for reading assertions like these, but which may not be quite so universal as he seems to assume. Mādhava-Śāyana, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, as he tells us himself,—of the most important Brāhmanas and a *Kalp* work, — Mādhava, the renowned Mīmāṃsist—he, the great grammarian, who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pāṇini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends,—Mādhava, who, on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion, lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,—in short, the great Mādhava, we are told, had not the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of *his own Veda*, which Professor Roth has

the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda !

(4) "The purely etymological proceeding," he says, "as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result."

By these words he compels us to infer, in the first instance, that the meanings which Śāyana gives to Vaidik words are purely etymological; for when he illustrates his statement in a subsequent passage, by alleging such instances as "power, sacrifice, food, wisdom, to go, to move," it is clear that his sweeping assertion cannot be considered as merely embracing these six words, which, in his opinion, sometimes admit of a modification of sense. Just as he cancels the whole spirit of Śāyana's commentary, he tells us with the utmost assurance that the whole commentary of Śāyana is purely etymological. There is, I admit, an advantage in boldness; for if you tell a man while gazing on the noon-day sun that he is actually in the darkness of mid-night, he may probably prefer

to doubt the evidence of his senses rather than venture to reject the extraordinary news you bring him. I open at random the three quartos of Max Müller; I look at every page once, twice, many times. No doubt Professor Roth must be quite correct, for my eyes are blind. But, since I suffer under this sudden disability, I may at least be permitted to quote that very page from Wilson's preface to the second volume of his translation which Professor Roth quotes above, as if it bore out his statement concerning the "some centuries."

"As many instances of this elliptical construction," we read there, "have been given in the notes of both this and the former volume, a few additional instances will here be sufficient:—thus (p. 301, v. 9) we have the 'grandson of the waters has ascended above the crooked —'; 'the broad and golden — spread around.' What would the European scholar do here without the Scholiast? He might, perhaps, suspect that the term crooked, curved, or bent, or, as here explained, crooked-going, tortuous, might apply to the clouds; but he would hesitate as to

what he should attach the other epithets to, and the original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*rivers*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admitted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the Scholiast."

Thus, has Sáyana stopped at the etymological sense of "crooked-going," or of "gold-coloured?" ✓

But, in the second instance, though Professor Roth, of course, possesses all the knowledge which these ignorant Hindu commentators were wanting in, he implies by his words, that the meanings he creates in overstepping the purely etymological process, nevertheless rest on it. Since my reply on this point would have to enter into detail, and since I have promised to give *much* detail in the review which will be the commentary on my present remarks, I will merely here state that I know of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity as this Wörterbuch, and which has, at the same time, laid itself open to such serious reproaches of the *profoundest grammatical ignorance*. And, as

an etymological proceeding without a thorough knowledge of grammar is etymological thimblering, I may at least here prepare the reader who takes an interest in such plays, for a performance on the most magnificent scale. Or to speak in plain prose, I shall prove to Professor Roth by means of those same authorities which I have so often impressed on the reader's mind, that his Dictionary has created many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical properties of the word, and, in consequence, that his Vaidik exegesis in all these numerous and important instances has just that worth which a Veda revealed by Professor Roth has in comparison with the Veda of India.

(5) The object of Professor Roth is "not to understand the Veda such as it was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases."

This is unquestionably most important intelligence. Sāyana gives us the sense of the Veda, such as it was handed down to him—not indeed a few centuries ago, but from generation to genera-

tion immemorial—yet within this Kalyuga, I suppose. Nāgoji-bhāṭṭa, again, we have seen,²⁸⁷ tells us that in the various destructions of the world, the Rishis received new revelations from the divinity, which did not affect the eternal sense of the Veda, but merely the order of its words. But now we learn, for the first time, that Professor Roth has received a revelation at Tübingen, which as yet has neither reached the banks of the Thames nor those of the Ganges. He is going to tell us the sense which the original Rishis gave to their songs and phrases, at a period of Hindu antiquity, which is as much within scientific reach as the commencement of the world itself. Who will not hail this revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it?

And yet I have one word more to add in regard to Professor Roth's "direct communication with the Hindu divinities." He does not attach any importance, as he tells us, and abundantly proves, to that Veda which is the foundation of the religious

²⁸⁷ See note 171.

development of India; for that Veda is the Veda of Sáyana, and that Veda, too, which alone concerns us uninspired mortals. But even Professor Roth himself professes, in another part of his Preface, the greatest respect for the native commentaries on theological and ritual books. There he emphatically exclaims (p. iv.): "Indeed, for one of the two portions of the Vaidik literature, for the works on theology and the rites, we cannot wish for any better guides than these commentators, accurate in every respect, who follow their texts word for word, who are untiring in repeating everywhere that which they have already said whenever there could arise even the appearance of a misunderstanding, and who sometimes seem rather to have written for us foreigners than for their priestly pupils grown up under these ideas and impressions." How far his work has embodied the conviction expressed in these words which could not have been expressed with greater truth, I shall have to examine in my review. But I fear that these eloquent words must have escaped his memory in the midst of all the revelations he received. On the Rigveda we have already ex-

changed our views; but not yet on the other Vedas. These are avowedly extracted, or "milked," as the Hindus say, from the Rik. That the Sámaveda is entirely taken from it, we have proof,²⁶ and that the metrical part of the Yajus likewise rests on a version of it, no one will dispute. But both these Vedas are professedly not poetical anthologies. They are purely and simply ritual Vedas, and therefore belong—not only from a Hindu, but from an European point of view also—to the ritual literature. At the Jyotishtoma, for instance, the priest chants, not the Rig-, but the Sâma-veda hymns, though the verses are apparently the same in both. At the Aswamedha he mutters, not the Rig-, but the Yajur-veda hymns. This means that, whatever may have been the "original sense" of such Rigveda verses, in their Sâma- or Yajur-veda arrangement which, in numerous instances, has brought Rigveda verses of different hymns or books, into a new hymn,—the Sâma-veda hymns and the Yajurveda hymns have only a value so far as their immediate

²⁶ See note 75.

object, the sacrifice, is concerned. Hence even the most transeendental and the most inspired critic has nothing to do in these two Vēdas with "the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases," he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to these verses, in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice. As little as it would be our immediate object, when assisting at the horse-sacrifice, to ask what is the etymology of horse? or as little as it would be seasonable to trace the linguistic origin of a cannon-ball when it whistles past our ears, just so little have we to impart "the original sense"—I mean that sense revealed to Professor Roth—to the verses of the Sáma- and Yajur- veda, even when we are "both exegetes and lexicographers." And yet I shall give abundant proof that, even on these two Vēdas, Professor Roth has had revelations of a most astounding character.

(6) "We believe that a conscientious European exegete might understand much more correctly and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sáyana." I should encroach on the judgment of the

reader, if I ventured upon any remarks on this latter statement after what I have already said.

In now adverting to the treatment which the scientific and classical literature has received in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I need only say that this department is in the hands of Dr. Boehtlingk. In saying this, I have said everything. After such an expression of opinion, it will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr. Boehtlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pāṇini, much less those of Kātyáyana, and still less is he capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts. The errors in his department of the Dictionary are so numerous and of so *peculiar* a kind—yet, on the whole, so thoroughly in accordance with the specimens I have adduced from his Commentary on Pāṇini, that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischievous influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology.

On the present occasion, I must confine myself to these preliminary remarks, or at best content myself with adverting to one

other passage in the Preface to the Wörterbuch. It runs thus (p.vii.): "In order to facilitate the finding (of the words) for those who will make use of our Dictionary, we have to make the following observation. We have banished completely from the verbal roots the vowels *ri*, *ri*, and *li*, as well as the diphthongs at their end; for *ri* at the end of nominal bases we have substituted *ar*."

Thus the Wörterbuch does not give, like the Hindu grammarians, a radical *kri*, but it gives *kar*; not *klrip*, but *kalp*; not *jri*, but *jar*; not *pitr*, but *pitar*; not *datri*, but *datar*, etc. Now, this Dictionary professes to be a Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, not of some imaginary idiom which may be current at Tübingen or St. Petersburg. One would therefore have supposed that the public was entitled to expect some reason for these changes,—to know by what scientific considerations the authors of this work were guided, when they took upon themselves the responsibility of thus *abolishing the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pāṇini and subsequent grammarians*. But, in the fullness of its authority, this work does not condescend to meet any such demand: it simply cancels whole

categories of grammatical forms, and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness. Whether I am right or not in inferring the arguments which were in the minds of its writers when they presumed thus dictatorially to impose their theories on Sanskrit philology, may be a matter of doubt, but my supposition is that this innovation is founded on researches belonging to comparative philology. It cannot rest on mere Sanskrit ground, since all the forms they have cancelled really occur as thematic forms in the Sanskrit language itself. Thus, to use the same instances: *kri* occurs in *kri-ta*, *klrip* in *klrip-ta*, *pitr* in *pitr-bhis*, *datri* in *datri-bhis*; and as to *jri*,—*jri-na* can only follow from *jri*, not from *jar*. Their reasons, founded on comparative grammar, must then be these: that some bases in *ri* are represented in Latin by *er* and *or*, and in Greek by *ep*, *np*, and *op*; *pitr*, for instance corresponds with Latin *pater*, Greek *πατηρ*, *datri* with *δατôr* and *δαττω*, etc.

Now even supposing that such an argument had any weight at all in a dictionary of the Sanskrit language, the application made

of it would be incongruous. For though *pītar-* corresponds with *pāter-*, *dātār-* does not correspond with *datōr-*; its representative would have had to assume the form *dātār-*. The whole theory therefore, on the supposition I have made, would practically break down, and the innovation would be inconsistent with itself as well as at variance with comparative results.

But can such an argument be at all admissible? If a Sanskrit Dictionary were concerned, like Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with eliciting from the forms of sister languages the forms of that parental language whence they may be supposed to have derived their origin, it would be defensible to give the forms of that parental language itself. But a Sanskrit Dictionary can have no such aim. Its immediate object is the actual language which it has to deal with. It must take it such as it is, in its very deviations from the germ whence it has sprung. Its function is not to correct the real historical language, but to record its facts; and in doing so, to collect the materials which are to be used as well by the special as by the comparative philologist. And in so far as its

direct purpose is concerned, this is all it has to do. Any observations it may choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given; but it shows an utter want of judgment, to say nothing else, when it presumes to alter the very forms of the language itself.

I may venture also to add a few other observations on the forms thus cancelled in this "conscientious" Sanskrit Wörterbuch. It is known that many Sanskrit bases, and amongst them the bases in *ri*, undergo various changes in their declension and otherwise. *Pitri*, for instance, becomes *pītar-* in the accusative *pītar-am*, while it remains as it is, in the instrumental *pītri-bhis*; *dadhi* remains so in *dadhi-bhis*, but its base is *dadhan*, with the loss of *a*, in *dadha-ā*; *asthi* forms *asthi-bhis*, but *astha-ā*. Now there exists a paper of Dr. Boehtlingk on the Sanskrit declension; but whoever reads it must fancy that the language either played dice with these and similar forms, or is undergoing some remarkable cure. He talks of bases "which are strengthened as well as weakened," of bases "which are only strengthened," and of bases "which are only

weakened." Why language should nurse and physic its bases, as we learn from him, no one will understand. But a sadder spectacle of the treatment of a language or of linguistic facts than is presented in that paper, it is not possible to imagine. The *reasoning* there is exactly on the same level as the reasoning in the "*edition*" of Pāṇini, of which so many specimens have now become familiar to the reader of this Preface. Exactly the same game at dice or the same vagaries of disease reign in this Dictionary: thus, though the declension phenomena of *akshi*, *asthi*, *dadhi*, are identical, and acknowledged to be so by Dr. Boehtlingk himself in his paper on Declension (§ 69), in his Dictionary he discourses on the first noun under *akshan*, and again under *akshi*, while, on the contrary, if we look to *asthi*, he refers us to *asthan*; and if under his guidance we now go to *dadhan*, he requests us to seek for information under *dadhi*.

But since the linguistic hospital, which is opened in the works of Dr. Boehtlingk, is fortunately not the place in which the Sanskrit language lies,—for this language has had a sound and

rational development—it will be obvious to everyone who happens not to be placed under Dr. Boehtlingk's treatment, that there must be reasons for this variety of thematic forms which constitute the declension of the same base. And as there are such reasons, the immediate consequence is that we cannot decide, *a priori*, whether *kartar* be the "strengthened" form of the original base *kartri*, or "*kartri*" the "weakened" form of the original base *kartar*. Such a decision can only be taken after a thorough investigation of the influences which cause this change, of the nature of these influences themselves, and of the manner in which they work. And as language does not sit down like a school-boy, first to master the declensions, then the conjugations, and so on,—but as the influences I am speaking of are influences which are traceable in the whole organism of language itself, it is obvious, too, that such an investigation would not restrict itself to the phenomena of declension merely, but extend over the whole area of the linguistic development.

When I myself assumed the responsibility of writing a Sanskrit

Dictionary, I considered it incumbent on me to devote a most serious research to those little facts which, as we have seen, are despatched in five lines by our modern "exegetes and lexicographers." Six years have elapsed since I laid my first results, so far as lexicographical purposes are concerned, before the London Philological Society, and it is only the desire of giving them in their full bearing and extent that has hitherto delayed their presentation through the press. Now, it is questions like these—questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with the very utmost circumspection, and which cannot be decided without very laborious research,—it is questions like these which have been trifled with in this Wörterbuch in the most unwarranted manner. It does not show that it even understands the important problem which lies in its path; it briefly informs the reader that it has cancelled all the bases in *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *ḍri*, etc. and bids him—good-bye.

Patanjali,—let us for a moment repose after this dreary journey through the Wörterbuch,—Patanjali on one occasion thus speaks

to us: "When a man is in want of a pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says: (potter), make me a pot, for I have occasion for it. But (surely) a man who wants to employ words will not go, like the other, to the house of a grammarian and say: (grammarian) make me some words, I have occasion for them."²²⁰ Happy Patanjali! blessed in thy ignorance! Here we have potters who can fabricate—and not simply meanings of words, but the very words themselves, and words, too, which you laboured so earnestly, so learnedly, so conscientiously, to save from the pottering of all future "exegetes and lexicographers." Nay, we have, too, men who can repair to these potters, and call for, and admire, their linguistic wares! ✓

When in the presence of these extraordinary facts, which, unhappily, must silence the expression of all the acknowledgment—

²²⁰ *Mahābhāṣya* Introduction (p. 53 ed. Ballantyne): घटेन पात्रं करिष्याम्युपाहार-
मुक्तं नलाह नुर चटं कार्यमेवेन करिष्यामीति । न तदुत्तराभ्यनुब्रूयतावो विवाक-
नवकुर्वन् नलाह नुर शब्दाभ्युपेक्षा इति

may, of *all the admiration I really entertain for the immense industry displayed in this Wörterbuch*,—when with that deep sense which I entertain of the *duties* and of the *influence* of a Dictionary, and, in the actual condition of Sanskrit philology, more especially of a Sanskrit Dictionary,—when with these convictions, the earnestness of which, I believe, is proved throughout the whole of this investigation,—when—I will not conceal it—under the indignation and grief I felt in seeing a magnificent opportunity thrown away—as I shall abundantly prove that it has been thrown away in the case of the Sanskrit Wörterbuch,—when under these impressions I uttered a warning, five years ago, in the “Westminster Review,” a warning contained in three pages, there ensued a spectacle which, during my literary experience, stands without a parallel.

Professor Kuhn,—not indeed a proficient in Sanskrit, nor having ever obtained any position amongst those who are earnestly engaged in Sanskrit philology, but—as a contributor of quotations to the Wörterbuch, launched against me the grossest personal invectives which ever disgraced the pages of a scientific journal.

As sound, literary argument was beyond his range, he indemnified himself, and gratified his employers, by calling me names. Unfortunately for him his abuse could produce no effect upon me, for the following reason. Amongst the few critical remarks for which I had room, in the “Westminster Review,” there was one which illustrated the manner in which Professor Roth had translated a ritual text. This remark was expressly written for Professor Kuhn’s amusement as well as that of Professor Weber. For, at a small Sanskrit party which used to meet every fortnight at Berlin during the years 1847 and 1848, I had shown them the Commentary of Mád’hava on a Mímánsá work, the editing of which I had then commenced, this Commentary being the proof of the assertion I had made in 1855 in the “Westminster Review.” Professor Kuhn heartily enjoyed, at one of these meetings, the precious translation of the passage in question from the *Āitareya-Bráhmaṇa*, given by Professor Roth, in the preface (pp. xxxviii-xli) to his edition of the *Nirukta*. Nay more, so anxious was he to possess its substance, before it was published, that in my presence he took notes from

the Commentary I am speaking of,—viz., that of the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara. And in the invectives to which I am alluding, he does not deny the existence, nor yet the value, of my evidence, but he words his defence of Professor Roth in so studied and so ambiguous a manner as to create in the minds of his readers a suspicion as to the reliability of the statement I had made, though its truth was perfectly familiar to him.²⁰

²⁰ In possession of the information I am speaking of he writes as follows: "Der letzteren stellt der verfasser eine bedeutend abweichende des commentators gegenüber, da er aber nur the commentator und nicht all the commentators oder almost all the commentators sagt, so ist stark zu vermuthen, dass noch andere commentare existiren, welche den text wahrscheinlich in der Rothachen weise erklären werden; dabei nehme ich natürlich den Fall als ganz unmöglich an dass der verfasser (der nichts als die überetzung giebt) etwa selber den commentar missverstanden haben sollte" i.e. "In opposition to the latter [viz. the version of Professor Roth of the passage in question] the reviewer gives another of the commentator which is considerably different from it; but as he merely says the commentator, and not all the commentators or almost all the commentators, there is a strong probability (sic!) that there are other commentators who probably (sic!) explain the text in the manner of Professor Roth. With these words I assume it, as a matter of course, to be plainly impossible that the reviewer who

Now, a writer who has recourse to such weapons as these has laid aside those qualities which are necessary to retain a man within the pale of a gentlemanly consideration, and his language, however *gives nothing but the translation, should have misinterpreted the commentary.*"—That Professor Kuhn had not the slightest doubt as to who was the author of the review in question, even he will not venture to deny; for he has stated the fact in letters and in conversation. But even if he had any such doubt, he knew that I was in possession of the commentary, for he had taken notes from it. If, then, the ascertainment of truth alone had been the object of his remark, as the public might expect of an author, and if his notes were not complete enough—which, however, I do not admit—the times required for a letter to me and an answer back, that is to say, five days, would have sufficed to give him all the information he could wish for. It requires, however, no statement from me that his object was not to inform his readers of the true state of the facts; it better suited his purpose to insinuate a doubt as to the correctness of the translation I had given. Indeed, Professor Weber,—who, as I have mentioned, possessed the same knowledge and had obtained it in the same manner, as Professor Kuhn, settles the point. Though he did not remain behind his colleagues in scurrilous abuse, and though, in speaking of my translation, he shows his usual levity, he, nevertheless, plainly and openly acknowledges the full reliability of the translation I had given, on the ground of the Mīmāṃsā work. He says: "er kennt nämlich offenbar nur die systematisirte Erklärung der Mīmāṃsāschule, etc.;" i.e. "the reviewer obviously knows only the sys-

gross, and adapted to his own character, can not touch one who does not stand on the same level with him.

A similar exhibition took place, I am grieved to say, in a journal of high standing and respectability, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft." It is a salutary practice in the journals of all learned societies, not to admit into their pages scurrilous or libellous attacks against individuals; and this practice has been rigidly adhered to in the journal to which I am advertising, with the single exception of my own case. Professor Weber, who is also in the service of the Wörterbuch, suddenly attacked me in this journal,—not, indeed, with anything that deserves the name of argument, but with personal abuse of the coarsest kind. Five years have passed by, and at last a sense of justice, which does credit to himself, has re-entered the mind of Professor Weber; and in the last number of the "Zeitschrift," which

temerizing explanation of the Mimāṃsā school, etc." Thus, whatever be his opinion of this explanation, he speaks of it from *personal knowledge*, and admits that my account of it was correct and not liable of doubt.

reached me when this Preface was nearly completed in print, he has fully and honestly retracted all his former calumnies; still, however, combining with the compliments he now pays to my Dictionary, the remark that my views of the Wörterbuch show a perfect derangement of my mental faculties, since I do not reject the authority of the greatest Hindu scholars as freely and easily as the work he so assiduously praises.

I am certainly in no humour to find fault with the opinion which he entertains of my mental condition, for it will always give me a sense of safety and satisfaction when I find him bearing testimony to the vast distance which separates our respective modes of studying, and judging of, Hindu antiquity. But, as he has chosen to connect his opinion of me with a piece of scientific advice, this seems a fitting opportunity for illustrating, *once more*, his competence for passing a judgment on matters of Sanskrit philology.

He says: "Another, third, essential difference [between the Wörterbuch and my Dictionary;—I, myself, trust and hope that

attentive readers will find many more *essential* differences than three between the two works] consists in [my] not marking the accent of the words."

In his opinion, therefore, the Wörterbuch *does* mark the accent. Now, setting aside the very considerable quantity of words which are not marked with any accent in this work, the instances in which it is marked there seem to satisfy the scientific requirements of Professor Weber. I ought, then, to mention, in the first place, that in all such cases the accent is put there over the word without any further explanatory remark. But I have shown that there are *periods* in the known Sanskrit *grammatical* literature ;—that the first period is that of Pāṇini, the second that of the Rik-Prātisākhya, the third (perhaps fourth) that of Kātyāyana, the fourth (or perhaps fifth) that of the Phitsútras ; and that, as we continue our descent, we have the period of the Kásiká, Kaumudí, etc. Thus, marking an accent without saying to what period such an accent belongs, *and up to what period it remains in force*, is giving evidence of the greatest superficiality,—it is showing, too, that the difficulties of the question

we are speaking of, were not at all understood. As regards myself, I believe I might have entered into such detail, since I have considered it my duty to turn my researches into this channel also ; and if the scientific and liberal disposition of my publishers could have disregarded all material considerations in the case—and could have added still more to the great concessions of space which they have already made me, to their own material detriment, since the publication of the third part of my Dictionary,—I should have been able not only to give quotations *historically*, which the Wörterbuch, notwithstanding Professor Weber's bold assertion—I will not attach to it another epithet—does not give, and to discuss the matters of accent,—but even to re-edit, little by little, the Commentary to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, as I have already done on several occasions, in order to prove the meanings I give, and which meanings no one could gather from the text as edited by Professor Weber. No doubt I might have done all this had I been perfectly independent of material considerations. But, at all events, had I, in marking the accents, contented myself with that which satisfies completely,

Professor Weber's scientific wants, my Dictionary would have become as superficial as the book which he has qualified as a work of the "most scrupulous conscientiousness."²⁰¹

In adverting to Professor Weber's advice, I may as well quote one more instance from his impartial illustration of the difference between the two Dictionaries. It concerns the meanings of words in both. But as I have adverted to this subject before, I need now only say, that he describes the Wörterbuch in the following manner.

"It represents," he writes in the 'Zeitschrift,' "the principle of reality in contrast with the historical proceeding of interpretation [which he says, is mine], by allowing the words to interpret themselves through the chronological order (*sic.!*) of the quotations added to them, and through these quotations themselves, the authors always quoting the native exegesis also, but merely as a

²⁰¹ In his libel he says; "dieses Werk des bewundernswürthesten Fleisses und der sorgsamsten Gewissenhaftigkeit."

secondary means."²⁰² And of myself he says, that my "orthodox faith in the authority of native exegetes and grammarians" is something perfectly bewildering; indeed, it presupposes the "derangement of my mental faculties."²⁰³

It requires all the levity, on the one hand, and all the hardness, on the other, which are the mixed essentials of Professor

²⁰² "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol. XIV. p. 755: Die Haupttendenz, die er [i.e., myself] hierbei verfolgt, besteht eben—und dies markirt einen ferneren Haupt-Unterschied von *Bechtlingk-Roth*—darin, dass er es sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Ansichten der einheimischen Erklärer und Sprachforscher zur prägnanten Geltung zu bringen, während *Bechtlingk-Roth* diesem historischen Erklärungsverfahren gegenüber das sachliche Princip vertreten, die Wörter nämlich durch zeitliche Ordnung der betreffenden Stellen und durch eben diese Stellen selbst sich unmittelbar erklären zu lassen, wobei sie die einheimische Exegese zwar auch stets anführen, aber doch nur als sekundäres Hülfsmittel betrachten."

²⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 756: "Persönliche Beziehungen haben uns seitdem überzeugt, dass der Verfasser bei Abfassung jenes, für uns allerdings immer noch geradezu unbegreiflichen, Angriffes auf das Petersburger Wörterbuch dennoch wirklich im völligen Rechte zu sein glaubte. Es setzt dies freilich nach unserer Ansicht eine Art Verirrung des Denkvermögens voraus, wie sie auf sonstigen Gebieten nicht selten ist, hier aber in der That be-

Wieder literary productions, to allow an author to come before the public with statements like these. As for myself, any one may see that there are various instances in my Dictionary where *I plainly state that I differ from the etymologies or meanings given by the native authorities*. These cases of dissent are certainly not frequent, because a serious investigation of the native grammarians led me in most instances to appreciate their scholarship and the correctness of its results; nor have I the presumption to supersede them with mere vague and vapouring doubts; but that I have ground sometimes to differ even from the views of a Kátyáyana or a Patanjali, Professor Weber will have probably learned now from the foregoing pages, though he might have learned it already from my Sanskrit Dictionary, which he is good enough to favour with his advice. His statement, therefore, concerning my blind

freudet, eine orthodoxe Hingabe nämlich an die Auktorität der indischen Exegeten und Grammatiker, wie sie uns gegenüber diesen Haarpalmen, die bei aller Spitzfindigkeit denn doch gar oft jenen verblödeten Leibern gleichen, die da Rücken seigen und Kameele verschlucken, sehr wenig am Platze scheint."

belief in all that the Hindu scholars say, is founded on that same overweening superficiality which, as we have seen, leads him to assume the responsibility of schooling Kátyáyana, whom he does not even understand.

But as to his description of the Wörterbuch, I know not how to qualify it without using language which could only be used by a Professor Kuhn. It is one of my most serious reproaches against the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, that it not only creates its own meanings, and by applying them to the most important documents of the literature, *practically falsifies antiquity itself*, but deliberately, and nearly constantly, *suppresses* all the information we may derive from the native commentaries. I have intimated that the great injury they have thus done to the due appreciation of Hindu antiquity, would have been lessened had they at least, as common sense would suggest, given by the side of their own inventions the meanings of Sáyana or Mahídbara or of other authorities, and thus enabled the student to judge for himself. Yet while the reader may peruse their Dictionary page after page,

sheet after sheet, without discovering a trace of these celebrated Vaidik commentaries, while the exceptions to this rule are so rare as to become almost equal to zero, Professor Weber dares to speculate on the credulity of the public in telling it that this Dictionary *ALWAYS quotes the native exegesis!*

When a cause has sunk so low as to have such defenders and require such means of defence as these, when its own contributors and its noisiest bards have no other praise to chant than such as this, it seems almost cruel to aggravate its agony by exposure or reproach.

But the spectacle exhibited on the appearance of my remarks in the "Westminster Review" does not end here, and its epilogue is perhaps even more remarkable than the play itself. In the same "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" there followed another act, which is so characteristic of the system pursued in these attacks, that it deserves a special word, merely for the sake of curiosity. An individual whose sole connection with Sanskrit studies consists in handing Sanskrit books to those who can read them, a literary naught, wholly unknown, but assuming the airs of

a quantity, because it has figures before it that prompt it on,—this personage who, as his own friends informed me, is perfectly ignorant of Sanskrit, he, too, was allowed to give *his* opinion on the Wörterbuch. I need not say that, in the absence of all knowledge of the subject itself, it merely vented itself in the most grandiloquent praise; but, to complete its mission, there was added to this fustian, language, in reference to me, such as certainly was never heard, or admitted, before in a respectable journal of any society. He need not tremble lest I should drag him into notoriety. Nature has not fitted him for estimating the ridicule to which he exposed himself in becoming the mouthpiece and the puppet of his instigators. If he deserve anything, it is not chastisement, but pity, and the mercy of a charitable concealment of his name.

And all this outrage, not only against the interests of science and truth, but against the commonest rules of decency, was committed in a series of planned attacks, because I had warned the Sanskrit Wörterbuch of the danger of its career, and had not expressed any admiration for Dr. Boehtlingk's competence or scholarship.

It was then, and on the ground of observations I had made in regard to his want of proficiency, that I was called upon by one of his men, not only to have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini," but even for the *hidden* reasons he might have had in foisting on the public this blunders of every kind. The "editor of Pāṇini" was held before me as a symbol of scientific accomplishment; his "edition of Pāṇini" was the great thunderbolt which was hurled at my head by one of these little Jupiters.²⁴

For eighteen years I have been thoroughly acquainted with the value and the character of this "edition" of Pāṇini; and yet, from

²⁴ Prof. Kuhn writes in his "Zeitschrift" the following words: "Wo der alten grammatischen nicht Erwähnung gethan ist, geschah es nur deshalb nicht, weil ihre etymologie mit der der verfasser übereinstimmte; stellten dieselben aber ohne jene zu erwähnen eigene etymologien auf, so liess sich doch wohl voraussetzen, dass der herausgeber des Pāṇini, des Vopadeva u. s. w. dazu seine wohlwogenden gründe gehabt haben mochte;" i.e., "where no mention was made [in the Wörterbuch] of the old grammarians, this was done because their etymology agreed with that of the authors of the Wörterbuch; but when the latter made their own etymologies without naming the former, it was but natural to suppose that the editor of Pāṇini, of Vopadeva, etc. had his own well-weighted reasons

a natural disinclination to antagonize with those who have similar pursuits to my own, I have refrained from appraising the public of the knowledge I possessed in regard to it. Twelve years have passed since I explained my views on this book personally and

for doing so." The real nature of this statement of Professor Kuhn will become apparent from the review which I shall give of the Wörterbuch. But his information, as it is, is not without great interest. Thus, according to this quotationer of the Wörterbuch, its authors pass over in silence the labours of the Hindu grammarians—not because they see reason to adopt the results of the latter—but because these labourers have the honour to meet with the approval of Dr. Boehdligk and Company. Under any circumstances, however, it was but natural and rational to pass them over in silence and to suppress the information they give,—for, either they have the honour of being approved of by Dr. Boehdligk, or "the editor of Pāṇini" had probably his well-weighted reasons for not agreeing with them; and, in the latter case, there was of course not the slightest necessity that he should give or even allude to these important reasons. The passage quoted would alone quite suffice to illustrate the character of the falacious adulation and of the puffing advertisements—written, of course, exclusively by the employed scribes of the Wörterbuch—which for some years have made their appearance in some literary journals of Germany, and have not only misled, but imposed upon, the public unacquainted or imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit philology.

privately, at our Sanskrit parties, to Professors Weber and Kuhn; and the longer the interval passed over, the less I felt disposed to speak of it in print. At present, after twenty years' time, I should have considered it almost unfair to rake up the past; for a sense of charity would have told me that the moral and intellectual condition of a man may undergo considerable changes during so considerable a period of his life. But in spite of my strongest desire to combine the defence of literary interests with a regard for all the circumstances connected with the author himself, I am not allowed to remain silent, in consequence of the insolent provocations which I receive. Not only does Dr. Boehtlingk quote *his* "edition" of Pāṇini, in his Wörterbuch,—not only does he thus force it, as it were, on us by the references he makes to it, and acknowledge it to this day as his legitimate child,—but one of his own scribes, well acquainted with the judgment I should pass on it, has the hardihood to defy me publicly, by bidding me have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini."

Well, then, I have taken up this impertinent challenge.

so far as my present subject permitted, I have illustrated the nature of this immaculate book; and it will not be my fault if I am compelled to recur to it again.

Still a provocation of this kind alone would have as little induced me to take up my pen now as it did heretofore; but when I see the public told authoritatively, yet without any proof, that Śāyana teaches that understanding of the Veda which was current in India no longer than a few centuries ago;—when I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines—the most valuable, and sometimes the only, source of all our knowledge of ancient India—are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and, as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidik texts;—when I see that the most ancient records of Hindu antiquity are interpreted to the European public in such a manner as to cease to be that which they are;—when a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity;—when I see that the very forms

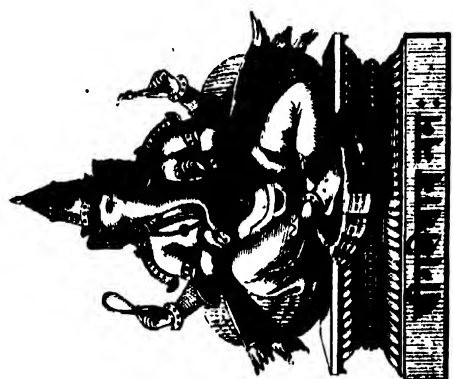
of the language are falsified, and that it is made a principle to slur the grammar of Pāṇini, and to ridicule those who lay stress on it;—when I see that one of the highest grammatical authorities of India is schooled for a “want of practice and skill,” while this censure is passed without even an understanding of the work to which it refers;—when I see that they who emphatically claim the epithet of “veracious,”²⁸ make statements which are the very reverse of truth;—and when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professorial position they hold;—and when,

²⁸ Professor Weber in his libel: “einen um so peinlicheren Eindruck muss es auf jeden wahrheitsliebenden Forscher machen, etc.!” i.e. “the more painful is the impression which must be produced on every veracious scholar” [viz., if he reads my opinion on the Wörterbuch, which opinion,—I must add, so far from having changed, is even more emphatic now than it was when I wrote the review which has so much displeased him].

moreover, departing from rule and precedent, I see the journal of a distinguished Society—I fully hope through an oversight of its editor, though a Professor of Sanskrit himself—permanently made the channel for propagating such statements as I have described and qualified, together with these scandalous personal attacks and calumnies,—then I hold that it would be a want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these SATURNALIA OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.

On this ground I have raised my voice, however feeble and solitary for the moment, and have endeavoured to examine the competence of those who set themselves up as our masters and authorities. On this ground I have endeavoured to vindicate for Pāṇini the position he holds in Sanskrit literature, and the position he ought to hold amongst honest Sanskrit philologists.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
November 2, 1860.



पञ्चः

ॐ॥ उ न मो वि ना य का य ॥ यं मं त्रः प्रा ण्मि मा स क ल्पं त च ण्म रा कि ज्ञा ऊ ना नि
क ज्य थि ब्वा तैः सा नः पा उ स र स्व ती ॥ छा उ त्त र ल उ प चा रो वि दा रः ॥ द्वि प दं प रि न्ना षा
स्त्रं ॥ नि य म व द्मि य ता प रि न्ना षा न व ति उ प चा र स्या धि क र ण त यो त्त रा दि गु नि य
म्या त उ प व र ण मु प चा र श्रु ति क र्त्तृ य ता तं दु प का र क सं नि पा त्पो प का र क रू प
तो ऽ ध्य व सि त उ प चा र श्रु ति क र्त्तृ य ता तं द्वा पा क य ज्ञो प चा रा ज्ञि सु प्र च र ति ॥ तृ त्ति
म ज्ञि दो त्तो प चा र सि ति प्र यो गा त ॥ बि दा र इ त्य न य न चं ते ॥ बि दा रं पु र स्त्र त्वे ति प्र
यो गा त उ त्त र स्थो दि शि उ त्त र स्मि न् दे शो वा न्नो त्त र तः ॥ श ष्ठो न उ का ले दि क्श चे नः १
स ष्म मी ति व र्त्त मा नो द द्दि म् लो क रा म्पा म त सु न्म त्त यो दि शि दे शो त्त रा श ष्ठ त उ

मि २

नरतउपचाशेयङ्गस्यसउत्तरतउपचारइत्यन्यैपदाशेविबुद्धीदिः।सचान्यप
 दाशेविहारःउत्तरतउपचारोन्नवतीतिशेषः।एतदुक्तंनवतिविहारस्योत्तरतउप
 चारकर्तव्यइति।गोदोक्षेनवस्पापाकरणवेदकरणादिरुषवारःस्वैस्त्रैवीकोरुत्तर
 तोकर्तव्यः।दक्षिणतोवाप्राप्त्यापश्चादातत्रदक्षिणतः।अदिनिवृत्त्यंउत्तरतोनीय
 त्ततः।उत्तरतस्तुपक्षेप्राप्तत्वातुनविधीयते।कितर्हिदक्षिणतश्चादिषुयत्रपक्षेप्राप्तिस्त
 त्रपक्षेउत्तरतः।आहवनीयस्येत्यादौगार्हपत्यादियदहंनियमांशीविहारेकदेशज्जे
 स्मिन्पक्षेप्राप्तत्वातुअवघातेपेष्णदीनोनुसामथ्यद्वित्तरतस्सिद्धिः।पश्चादुत्तरस्य
 स्तरणात्तद्वत्ताजिनस्यैवमादायविहारग्रहणंपश्चाद्वक्षिणतः।अहवनीयस्येत्येव
 = अत्राज्ञवान्नैविधीयतइति।नियमोविधिवोचोयुक्तिः।उत्तरतोगार्हपत्यस्योत्तरत=३

ननस्फेधाबर्दिःस्रुगादीनिद्यवदितांगानांसाक्षादंगान्यंतराणि एवमुच्चितां य
 जमानोऽंतरःपुनीनांयजमानोत्तरांतरातिद्यदंगंसाक्षादंगान्यंतराणि एवमुच्चितां य
 धीस्त्रिंशैर्नित्यमनिष्टत्पथैः। अक्षिजोपरस्परंऽतरोयोयः। एवोनिर्दिष्टउत्पत्तिवा
 क्येदक्षिणाविजतीत्यादौ। कर्तुर्बद्ध्या निस्स्रुगुरुविरादीनिसामर्थ्याद्भवति। छा
 नद्यायिः। अष्टपदं। अत्रैप्रणयनेदेवागुजपशाखाद्येदनानुमाज्जनिमित्तेवमावि
 निवर्त्तोरिकर्माणिप्रकर्षेणसम्यक्समंतादापश्यन्नीक्षमाणाश्चावउत्पत्तिकर्माणि।।
 अत्रिर्विद्विष्येक्षेसंनमनादः। मयिदिपक्षैः। अतुमाज्जनादेः। कुर्वित्पक्षे। मयि
 मन्मदयकाश्चिन्नवतीतरयाविभुणंस्यात्॥ यद्वाप्रमादवर्जनाधंसिस्त्रैर्नैतुत्राय
 ध्वित्तनयादेवत्रमादवर्जिनः। सिद्धं। नद्यापिपुनर्वत्तद्यु। मदाप्रयोजनत्वात्। प्रमादवर्ज

यद्यपि

न स्यात्प्रमादप्रधानं ते रिते पुनर्दीक्षादिप्रधानमावर्त्तते। तत्र मदान् दोषः स्यात्त
 स्मादपुनर्वचने। ततश्च लब्धं न पंचवक्त्राणि त्रिपंचत्रिंशतिर्वक्ष्ये यद्वा प्रमादकर्तृना
 र्थिपि नित्यमासीच्च उग्रद्विषांश्च यत्कर्मणि रक्षुपञ्चरुणादित तूगणितद्युसुतेनेति वि
 रणीयं। मंत्रांतेन कर्मत्रिपदं मंत्रस्यांतेन मंत्रांतः। मंत्रस्यामाहौ योतस्स इत्यर्थः। कर्म
 र्थादिः। केमादि राघं देण्डत्यर्थः। मंत्रांतेनेच्छन्त लक्षणाद्यतीत्या मंत्रातेनेच्छन्तो
 धर्मं न मध्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः। सन्निपातो यथा न वक्ष्ये धाक्यादिति न यमो। मंत्रांतो मंत्रा
 यात्मकं कर्म तेन सुकैषापरिभाषा यथेष्टमनरं वैदिककरणदो। यत्र लक्ष्मि क
 कर्मवधातीत्यादौ तत्रादेरजावाक्यं स्यात्। आद्यंतवादकस्मिन्निति वद्वि ३

न्या१

उपक्रम २

अस्यौदित्यपदेशो मदावीरपचनादौद्रहृद्यः ननु यथावैदिकरणयूपसंमार्जनादौद्रहृद्यः कक्षेण प्रचयसूत्रपुत्रकर्मप्रचुत्सुपवर्ग्यावर्गं नो नान्यस्यैसरूपत्वाकर्मणि॥ तद्वदेव दित्तरणवदित्तिर्लौहोयुक्तं। स्तरणदेस्तरूपकादाद्यहणएवमंत्रेण संबधनीयः॥ यद्येवं तस्मिन् कर्मण्युक्तेति तस्मिन् दणमनर्थकं। अंजनस्य सरूपत्वात् तएव तस्मिन् वनवतिश्च यमवस्तुसूक्तं उपरिदक्षिणं प्रसूतं तत्तैकक्षणेन युगपदं नं स्यात्ततश्च पुनर्नृक्कामया एक्केत्कत्तरस्मत्तेषु न त्रिहं स्यात्। न पुनर्त्रिहणाच्च मंत्रेण स्यात्तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं। च स्मिन् दणं स्यात्। एव तौद्रनिर्वपणादौद्रोच्या दानादौवत् स्मिन् दणं न ज्ञायते। स ऊपेपि कर्मणि प्रतिष्ठान्ति मंत्राणावर्तते तर्हि त्वदेकस्तरणे उरुप्रथस्त्विति नावर्तेत। यद्वा बर्हिस्त्विति ति त्वद्वि

५५५

धीक्तिविवहया प्रतिधातुः तावन्निष्पत्तेः। मंत्रवर्मेर्बर्दि रन्निधानाच्च। यत्रयुगपदेवं
 नक्षणेनपात्रसंसादनादौद्याप्रियंतेद्यक्तयः। तत्रनप्रतिव्यक्तिआवर्तितयत्रयुग
 मन्तश्चक्यते। तत्रनवत्येवप्रतिव्यक्तिमंत्रावृत्तिः। सोमक्रयणाक्षुधुरंजनादौः।
 यवर्षतेतेपर्जन्यइतिवेदिंयजमानंचेत्यादौयुगपच्छक्यतएवेतिचेन्नातथाष्टावते
 तेमंत्राएकवचनांतवातसंस्पशिकमन्त्राच्चासमानदेशत्रैपिसंस्पशेभिर्त्रमावृत्ति
 दान्नावादतइत्यादौएकशोबेसमाननिर्देशाद्यगपकार्यसंबंधः। समानदेशत्रै
 यद्यपिशक्यते। तस्यांशैकवचनांतवातुमंत्रस्यावृत्तिर्नवतिदिप्रधमनानुरोधे
 नयुगानुवृत्तिरन्निधीयमानत्वान्मंत्रस्यद्वितीयांतत्वाच्चदनीदिः। त्राधात्म्यमंत्रस्या

१ धायकत्वान्मंत्रस्य

१ धायकत्वान्मंत्रस्य

च०

त०

निधानार्थत्वात्तादर्थ्यपुष्टिणवचं तथावाहृतौलिङ्गादेव सत्ये किं तां कैमिति न च दत्ता
वितीतरेतरयो गालु रोधेन यु गप दादानं शर्षे चेत्ते कत्वं जातौ स्यान्निष्प्रमदित्वेकमिति
देशानामपि सुतरां जातिपक्षमाश्रित्य बहुवचनं तोभं त्रः स ल स्यात् दत्तत्वे तवित्तो
भूद्विद्धिनेन मनर्थकस्याद्विवं कादि वं वः इति प्रमानं देशानां तथा निन्देशानामप्यपे
रुस्तु येरेव त्यादावूदः स्यात्तस्मात्तत्र प्रयोगेण जातिपक्षाश्रया जातौ पदार्थे भित्ति
तेषां दाजावएव प्रसज्येत एव तौ कार्ययो गातृत्वे पदार्थपक्ष एवाश्रीयते अपरैक
मणिः कं मी ए आदिः कं मी दिरिति द्वितीयदमीदाने मं बं ने कुं तित द सं न हि स म्प स्या
दानादरने कक्षण त्म क मणि रिति द्विच निर्दिशो युज्यते च हंसी त्र दणु च न घटते
मंत्रयोरं तो मंत्रां तः इत्यप्या स न दि वि का र विद न्य तः वि का र स्य वा नु हो च कं त स्योच्चा

एण काले सप्तवतिनदिष्ठं यं तं पटं तोस्ति कथं तत्स्यैकादशा नां यूपाना मं ते यूपानु-
 तोतमपि वादिवा दंतं गदत्यदोषः ॥ ५ ॥ दत्तुः प्रवयववर्माः अदिशष्टं तशष्टं पितृ-
 भ्यां मंत्राभ्यामित्यत्र सत्तद्वृणं नकुयद्यदि द्विवचनात्तस्यापि मंत्रशष्टस्य कर्मणो त-
 त्विविगृह्ये प्रमाशः स्याद्यत्र पुनर्मंत्रवस्सनि दृश्यं ते तत्र युगपदेव स्याद्वा श्रेयं दं वि-
 त्विविचक्रमं इत्यादौ युगपदाज्यं वेदयोः सादनं एवं च तस्माज्जिनपुस्तयोः सदस्तर-
 णं असमाश्रयनिर्दिष्टयो रपि द्विवचनात्तन्मंत्रस्याः शर्मचस्तस्मं शौवौ ध्यामित्यस्य नय-
 न्याः सं रद्वेनोः अत्र अश्रयं बिपवसेज्जिह्विषिरन्ते पवस्ते तत्र लुन युगपकं धं तदी-
 च्यते । सर्वमंत्रैरेकांशमिधं पुनस्तेरेताभ्यामितिस्यादेवं यद्विपुतामिति द्वयं नैतदस्ति ५

नमो

एतां नितिसु दानि देशास्तुतरांसदप्राप्नोति च। इति हि प्राप्तिरस्य तत्रापि यतामि
 त्त्यधिक्कृतेन विनापि स दमिदुः। अस्माद्यथा संस्थां एतद्रदणं ॥ अत्रादिना
 त्तरस्येति पंचपदं स्वशाखाशास्त्रसमयोपदेशश्च। तं तं मंत्रं प्रतीक्यात्र कर्म
 ते ४ स्तत्रिं नैव नैव स्तमंत्रं पठित्वा तत्र न ज्ञायेत किं प्रमाणेयं मंत्रं प्रकीर्तितं। तत्प्रमा
 णमुपदिशति लुत्तरमंत्रस्य। अत्रास्मिन् गोपतां तु दिदाम्यस्तु चिरास्माद्वोसा
 त्पादिना प्रतीकेन पूर्वमंत्रस्य देवो वस्सुविता प्रार्पयतु हिरण्यवस्सु वयास्तु
 यस्य वक्तुं रित्या देरसमाहिं माघशं स। अत्र वदंतु देवीः। इणक्ति विंदते वस्त्रित्यादि
 जानीयात्। पारशारद्यस्तु तस्मैः प्रपद्यते। ननु पारशारद्यानामपि संदेहः। प्रमा
 णं प्रतिष्ठुं तां पितर इत्यादीनां किमेकामंत्रजतप्रतिपर्यायं मंत्रं अत्रिधानस

मयीदवमादौ पृथक्कातुपित्रादीनामभिधेयानां प्रतिवाक्यं मंत्रज्ञेदः। तथा यत्र दाना
बद्धिस्तिष्ठन्निष्ठाभ्यामेतानिःसंज्ञाशब्देन च निदेशस्तत्र प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिपद्यति मंत्र एव
संस्थानि देशोऽर्थवान् न वति। इतरथादिनोत्तरस्थितिर्सेदुनर्थकः स्यात्। ननु चान्न
हिकथं च नुमिशिदत्तै तया संनिवपतिद्वाम्पुपदधाति ति स्थितिः प्रवपति न स्मेत्या
दौ अत्रापि संस्थानि देशान्मंत्रज्ञेदः। सत्यं। तथापि न प्रतिमंत्रं कर्म विहितो रभ्यादीनाम
कथं त्तिकानां अभ्यादीनामेकयात्र स्थानां च संसर्गि द्रिद्याणं न हि त्रातस्य सन्
तस्य च आदानं संनिवपनं पुनः स्यात्। सन्नद्धौ दितमसत्तस्यात्। यद्वा च नु संनि
त्राणमेकोनः मंत्रस्यालौकिकवाक्ये ममाज्ज नोपस्थानादीनामपि सन्नद्धौ दि
तत्वात्। अत्र त्वन्ति न स्यात्। सत्यं ज्ञापकात् अस्मत्तद्वक्तं एते निगद्यन्तु होत्याहो निग

घञु दोती त्फक्तेऽपि सन्न दोमेपि सिद्धे यदाहुति त्रदणं मे कवचनोतं क शेतित तो शावा
 तिः अत्रा सन्न स्या नमंत्र संस्थानु रोधे नाऽन्ये बाहुः अ स ल दधि कर्मज्ञो पकं ते न य
 स्मान्मानो व मर्मा इत्येताभिः प्र तृचं दि र ए गन्ने इत्य शाभिः प्र तृच मित्या दो प्र तृ च यद
 ण म न र्थकं स्या ता य दि सं रद्या निर्दृ शा मंत्रे ने दा द स ल स्या नु उ क्तं च तैः एताभ्यां जु देत
 त्ये क वा क्य परि स माप्तः आ तो मित्रा व रु णा प्र बा ह वे नि च कु त्वे त्या दो ग नु म तीभ्यां द्या कु
 न्निश्च जु हेति आ वो दि ष्ठी या दि शि त्या दो समुदा ये वा क्य परि स मा द्ये रे का कु ति मा र्ज ना
 दि चै कं स्या दि त र शा स ल चो दि त म स क्त स्या सु च म दा न् दो षः अ ष्ट अ द णा व नु त्र दि
 णा दि न प ठि तं पु रो वा ते ति प्र नृ ति नि र ष्ठे द्या हु ति निश्च चो र इ त्या दो सं रद्या नि र्दृ शा
 वा णा दि सि म्भ शि ति दो ते षा म नि प्रा योऽप्रा दि नो त्तर स्य म् वा ति सि ष्ठेऽप्रा पो द भीः

संते वायुशित्तिद्वयोः प्रतिष्ठा न प्रत्येकवाक्यसमाप्यर्थजागतोसीत्यादिना गयत्रो
मीत्यस्योक्तो न भवति प्रत्यभिधाना मभिधायक मंत्रज्ञेदात् अतएव सज्जोषा इत्या
दिनाऽन्येन उक्तस्योक्तो न गृह्यते दुर्घटाभिधान संबंधे। अनुवाकशेषेण
आन्तादनुवाकस्येति वचनं अतएव संमृष्टा इमानित्पादौ सुघटका न्नोक्तं य
द्वोदेव देवनादिना उदादिपि इदं हविर्हित्यस्योक्तो गृह्यते। अतः प्रपञ्चस्यैषि
कज्जोनि प्रपञ्चादिमान्नस्यात्तास्तस्य चक्षुरा रुहमित्येतस्याः एकवचननिर्दिश
दास्माकोसीत्यादिना तौपिस्योक्ताः। यज्ञोपवीत्यष्टपदं। ऊर्यादिति प्रत्येक संबंधः।
यज्ञोपवीतं वस्त्रविन्यासविशेषस्तत्रान्यज्ञोपवीति उपवीतदाक्षिण्यव्याहुः क
र्म ऊर्यादित्यर्थः। ननु नित्यं यज्ञोपवीतीत्यनेन समाचीनयमः सिद्धः। किमर्थमिदमुक्तं ७।

तद्यत्तिक्रमेः

हे। तत्र स्नातकव्रताष्टं यत्तिक्रमे प्रायश्चित्तस्त्वेतन्वतीत्यर्थवताः क्रतुधर्मबाहू
नाम्ना तं पुरुषार्थत्वात् स्नातकव्रतलोपेक्ष नो ज नमिति प्रायश्चित्तदेयं। क्रतुमध्यग
द्यत्तिक्रमाः क्रतुबाधे तु स्नातकव्रतलोपमन्त्रो ज नमेव प्रायश्चित्तोदक्षिणाचार्य
तिबहुव्रीहिः। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन कुयीदित्यर्थः। उनाभ्योऽर्कवर्तत उपक्रमो
शीघ्रं प्रधानकालेन प्रापद्येतान तश्चाकाले कर्मस्यात्प्रधाने तन्मान्दितिव
नास्तेन हस्तेनेकं तिष्ठन् सादनं च वेद्यं सोतन्नि रूष्यं प्राप्नुयुः कुयीदित्यर्थः
प्राप्नुयुः प्रतियुक्ता तौ दिष्टु पुन रुक्ते परिहरणीयां प्रकृति निरूपणेन तत्र तत्र प्रा
प्नुयुः स्वीवतिष्ठतो प्राप्नुतु क्रम्य जपतीति पुन रुक्ते ब्रह्मं चोपवीतिवत्परिहृत
प्राप्नुयुः अहणं कर्मविशेषणं। अह्म कृत्ति पुन रुक्ता निश्चादवनीयात् प्रायः प्राक्कं तु हे

त्या

तीत्वादीनि घटं तो तस्मात् प्राङ्गिति विविद्धि तां ते न कर्त्तव्ये ते । तत्र न दिग्देशो वा
 भूतिः । ककारान्तेन तद्वितलोपेन चकारः । प्रथमिकवचने तस्य न्यायशब्देऽनुनासिक
 कोटंकारो भवति । स इदं नष्टस्यैतेषु न रुक्मजया तु न्यायादनेपे तन्यायं कर्म्मनि
 हेतुना एव स्यात् । एवं न्यायं हेतुः । असुष्मा दोषात्तस्मादयमेव हेतुर्नित्यवविधो वि
 चाशोमीमांसि सारथः । तथा न्यायविद इति मीमांसि सा विद उच्यते । तस्मान्मीमांसा
 रथान्यायादनपेताः अन्यत्र बचनात् । ध्रौवस्य स्थि एतत्तास्त्रैकाराणि प्रायश्च
 यद्विद्वीदियवंसु राद्रष्टं अत्र वघा तादि संस्कारवदत्यन्निप्रेत स्यात्तदा किं विचि
 स्यचिद्धर्मस्य विशेषणं निषेधनं वा । श्रितं स्यादतो न कर्त्तव्यं न्याय्यमथ वघा तादि
 तत्रैव सप्तदशशरा वनिवर्षा दौ शतलक्षालवर्षा दौ च न्याय्यं न स्यादनेनैव हेतुना ॥

तलश्चन्याय्यशब्दोत्रसौत्रो नर्थकः स्यं नैवं। सुतराद्दृष्टेऽत्र वधा ता दिन स्यात्। ततो न्या
 यं का वाक्-प्रपूर्वत्वात् तन्निर्वापादिन कचित् न्याय्य च माने कां कं न पाठिषु नोस्वरो
 यस्मिन्नुच्चातस्वरितैत्यादिरुपांशुः। यल्लुक्ते न उपांशु कमेक यादिति उपांशु
 यदणं न पुं स कर्त्तुं गवात क्रिया विशेषणं। धर्म विशेषः। उपांशु च विशेषः। विशेषणानां
 मन्निधेयवद्भिर्गवचनानि। कश्च पुनः धर्म शब्दः। कर्मणः। छदनादेर्विशेषणं। य
 या राज्ञायमित्थं पवय्यति। तत्र सारथाऽप्यकर्मणो विशेषणेषु च पाठः। शौ संभवं
 तिताना पचा रकल्पनात्मतां लभते। तस्माज्जपा यंति पाठः। यल्लुक्ते नोपांशु
 यत् कर्म संभवति तत् कुयति। जपपणोपांशु संभवति न छेदनादिनै तदस्ति। यदि
 धर्मनिमित्तं स्यात् यल्लुक्ते नोपांशु जपेदिति ब्रूयात् न पुनः कुयति दिति तस्माद्यल्लुक्ते नो

नविदितं कमेपि ॐ कृष्णं दित्यत्र वचनान्न तश्च त्रचासा भ्रावा यजुर्वेदविहितं
पा ॐ कृष्णं दित्यर्थः ॥ एवं चाधाने साभ्यो वारवंती या देगनिं पजुर्वेदेन वार
पत्तिर्न विज्ञाधाने विधा र्त्तं तदुपा ॐ न वेत्ताम वेद वारवंती या दित्ताम ॥ मुन
वेदनाधाने विधानमस्ति ॥ तद्यापि सदस्त्रशाष्वित्वात्कस्यावित्ता ॥ रवायो साम
ॐ धर्मः ॥ यजुर्वेदेन विधानात् ॥ तद्यापि त्रगंधर्मः ॥ त्रधानधर्म एवाध्याते ॥ त्रधानस्योपा
न त्रधानधर्म एवाध्याते ॥ कर्त्तव्यं दशोभिवास्याच्यते ॥ मौ एमासः ॥ पौ एमासीति
दशोभिमावास्यायां विदितं त्रधानयागत्रयं दशोभिवास्याच्यते ॥ एमासीति
एमासशब्देनातयोदशी पौ एमासयोः त्रधानयागत्रिकयोर्धर्मः ॥ त्रत्येकं ॥ इत्यनेन

यया ग स्य च उपाऽश्रु यज स्याच्चा ग्रीष्वा मीय स्य चैद्रा न स्य उ पां शु या ज स्य च मा
हे इ स्य वा ए के क स्य का स्त्रे नि उ प कुर्वतः सं ब धां ता ए कि क स्यां ग आ वं यो ती त्यर्थः
नेत्रे ण लु छि ता अ पि प्र ते के स वी र्ध मर्माः स्निग्धो रणो इति स्यात्ते ना लु द श पौ र्ण मा स योः
प्र धा न या ग त्रि क योः स मु दा य योः प्र ते के स र्वे सा धा र णा इति द्वि च नि र्दि शा त्वा यु क्तो न
उ ष स्रं स मु दा यि नो इ त र या हि द श पौ र्ण मा सा नो ध र्माः सा धा र णा इति स्यात् नै त
स्मार्ः। स मु दा यि य तिरि क्त स्य स मु दा य स्या मा वा त् इ त र त रा यां गे फ लं प्र ति द श
पौ र्ण मा सा न्या मि नि स मु दा या पे दं द्वि च नि र्दि शा यं यु ज्य ते का यं तु स मु दा यि न्निः सं
ब ध्यं ते ते षां व ह्नु चा त् स मु दा य स्या व ह्नु चा न्ना स्ति का र्थ यं बं धः अ पि च। स मु दा व
स्य ध र्म सं बं धे स ति ए क स्य प्र धा न स्य वि स्मृ न स्यात् वै रित स्य पु नः क र्म ति रि त्ते कु य

अं त्ति व स्य

दिति न स्यात्। स मु दा

पाथचैनता दध्यति। समुदायसु हतराभ्यामेकेन विनापि स्याद कद्विषो नो शेषः। ज्येष्ठ
 सं स्थाप्य पुन यजितत्पुनर्थकं स्यात्। कथं। समुदायस्य रुक्मो धर्मो गोजात एवा
 किं तु एतानां गोनविकल्पेष्टानुष्ठितो नुष्ठित एव न हि समुदायस्य दृष्टि
 स्तस्मात्त्रयाणां प्रत्येकं कास्मिन् धर्मसंबंधोऽप्युपरमा। पूर्वविवक्षया समुदायी तस्यावा
 तगार्हपत्यं धर्मसंबंधो न साक्षात्। तदुक्तं। तत्र त्रीणि प्रधानानि च त्रीति। एवं हि
 प्रधानानि स्युः। यदि प्रत्येकं उपकारकैर्धर्मैरुपक्रियमाणं च जज्ञेता प्रयाजादित्रिरूप
 क्रियमाणानि प्रधानान्कथं तो। प्रयाजादयस्तनुप्रकरणापत्तिताङ्गान्कथं। तां फल
 वसंनिधाच फलं तदंगमिति। यद्देवं तुल्यं सर्वेषां प्रधानानां प्रकरणं। सर्वे धर्मास्तु
 धानेषु प्राप्नुवंति। त्रीदिवानां विलयनगर्हपत्याधिश्च यणादयस्कराज्यस्यावधौ २०

तादयस्सोन्नायस्यवायथाहोबर्दिरादीनां हविश आदनादिषु विनियोगा तु सर्वप्र
 धानाशानि तथा विलयनादीन्यपि सुक्कानीति ननु ब्रीह्यो देविलयनादिः श्राज्जोदस्तु
 अविमोकादिर्न संनवतिः अदृष्टार्थं चोदितत्वाद संनवादपि क्रियते तत्तत्फलपाकवत्
 एवं प्राप्तेऽत्रादौ निर्देशाद्यवनिष्ठे रंन्निर्दिष्टपदं चेतत् निर्देश्यत इति निर्देशः साधने
 निर्दिश्यते वानेनेति निर्देशः शौद्धः साधनस्य वाचकास्तस्मान्निर्देशात्फलार्थः एत
 द्द संनवतिः सर्वत्र किं तु यत्रैव निर्दिष्टं तात तत्रैव द्यवकिद्यान्यसाधननिर्दि
 ष्टे रन्निर्दिष्टं यथादविश्यानिति निर्दिष्टप्रावृत्तादयस्ते ह विष्यास्वैवं सर्वत्रिति
 यानिर्देशाः अदृष्टार्थोऽत्रापि यन्निर्दिष्टादयस्तेषामपि निर्देशाद्भावस्थासाधन
 विवक्षाषु रोजाशयद्यपि नियमो निर्दिष्टात्क्रियते तत्रापि साधरणाः षट्प्रधानानि

भैकैकस्य। प्रयाजापि वदेनेपि तत्प्रकरणधीता अतएवद्वीऽषिपयग्रिं कशोतीति त
 व्यावर्द्धिद्वीरेण तवणीदयः साधारणास्तथाज्यादिद्वारेण विलयनादयः॥ प्रयोजन
 जावदवघातादीनामाज्यादिषु लोपाः॥ यथा च मुरं चेषु हविः कृदाक्रानं नानाबीजा
 नां साधारणं। तस्माद्येयत्र प्रयोजनं तस्तेतत्राक्रियंते। किंपुनः अनयोः सत्रयोः
 प्रयोजनं। न्यायं कर्मकुर्वीदित्युक्तं। तावत्तस्यैव प्रपंचोयं॥ छा। चचारसूक्तिजः षट्पद
 सूचिकृच्छेवरणचरणनिमित्तकोध्वश्चादिषु वर्ततीता। सत्रयौ गिवश्च मसाध्वयुष
 पिप्रसंगाः स्तेपियं जंतेयेवानुवरणं नरणं तेषामग्रस्ति। नेपिरुक्चिजस्य। स्ततश्च
 रुक्चिजउपतिष्ठं तदस्यादिचम। साध्व्येणामपि अदणं स्यात्। अतएव षोडशग्रहण
 चमसाध्वयनिवृत्त्यर्थं षोडशसूचिजोदिरएपस्रज इति। वरणं तु तेषां लौकिकं। मंत्राना

ना तातूयथात्रापित्रयाणं लौकिकं करणं । ब्रह्मण एव मंत्रवत वाचनिकां यद्देवं न क
 श्चिद्वासास्तदा तु बोद्धव्यं । अत्र न्यतः प्रयोजनं च कर्तव्यं । अथ क्व उद्दिष्टं किं याम
 ताः श्रद्धादयः । पागादवचचारस्फूर्तिर्नैव नियमाधेयं ब्राह्मणाः । प्रचरंतीति उणविधा
 नानुपपन्नो नियमस्य उपागादवसिष्ठ उद्दिष्टं मनुवा दः । यद्वा कुचौपलक्षण
 र्थं । एकस्यापराधे प्रायश्चित्तं मात्रयः प्रचरेयुः । सर्वसत्त्वक्रियुः । कर्तृचै न कर्मणि
 यस्मान्नैव तां निदिदिशा द्यावतिष्ठे रन्ति । तियद्यस्यादिष्टं स तत्कुर्यादिनादिष्टं तदिष्ट
 समं किं न ज्यसंवेत्तुं । युनिरत्पाशं क्वाः । अनादेशी धर्तुः कुर्यादिति । त्रिपदं च । तत्तुः । अ
 शौविनियोगो ब्रह्मादीनां यत्र नास्ति । तत्राधर्तुः कुर्यात् । त्रिपदं च । अनादेशी धर्तुः कुर्यात् । त्रिपदं च । अ
 तां । अत्रोक्तो लोकास्त्रिकोत्रा वा क्येनाप्राकराणिकः स्थानिकः सामान्यश्च । तत्र श्रौतो यथा
 त्वमधर्तुर्न ब्रह्मदेवता च वेति । ब्रह्मणः नृपतेरस्यादिमं त्रस्तोमेन ॥ १ ॥

यथा रक्षादावात्रा मामीत्यान्तीध्रस्या देशः शाखा विश्वे मनो दोनुः॥ एव यद्यजमा
 नपस्यादीना माज्या वेद एण दोमं त्रलिं गात्रा वृत्रस्यासि कनीति के ति च यथा पि
 तुनीमायावितियजमानस्य वा क्येनेति प्रकार एण ते यथा दिरण्मवल्लिख्य य
 तिस्त्वा वरास्तुस्मानादौ दीक्षितस्य स्त्वा नातु यथा मारु लोमषमवदधातीति प्र
 तिप्र स्थातुः॥ समाख्याया यथा दौत्रं दोनुर्ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म एण यजमानं यजमानस्य
 ननु इध्र्यं च मध्वयोरेव न विष्यति समाख्या किमर्थमिनादेशो ध्रुयुशितिसर्वम
 तदा ध्रियं ब्रह्म च दौत्रे याजमानिकं च यजुर्वेदिकं कृत्वा तत्रानादुशा एवाध्रुय
 क्रयन्नादशेषि इतरथा दृष्टिं यास्त्रादौ त्रतिसमारषया इध्र्यो रपि प्राशनं स्या
 त्॥ का उपस्त्रशने षट्पदे यजमानान्मो उपवस्वशने नुक्ते सति आदवनीयप्रण ॥ २

षनं च वतीति कालनियमार्थवचनोन्पुनः। त्रणयनविधानं। आहवनीये जुहोतीत्य-
 द्वाप्येतत्सिद्धत्वात् प्राज्ञे विधानेन वतीति कथं प्राज्ञोऽपि हिताज्ञोऽपि कर्मण्यज्ञोऽपि द-
 शकीर्णमासादिश्रद्धिकारः। आहिताग्निं च नु आधानेऽप्यधेत्यष्टिपथोऽतनुं चिते-
 सति च वतीति आहिताग्नेश्च कर्मसिद्धिर्होत्रादिः नु तिसृष्टमोनस्यादितो गादपत्या दया-
 समाधत्ते। तत्र गतश्रीयादितानि स्तस्मिन्नेवाहवनीये जुहोतीत्युक्तं। आधानिकमु-
 त्तज्ज्यान्वमाहवनीयं प्रधानार्थं प्रणीय तत्तुङ्गया तस्मादग्निर्होत्रेऽभिन्नप्रणय-
 नं विधीयते। तत्रापि कालनियमोऽपराह्णः। अष्टाष्टायां प्रातरिति पुरुषं धर्मावैश्व-
 नित्यधारणं प्रतिकर्म प्रणयनं च। यदि प्रणयनं विधीयेतां दशपौर्णमासयोगतिष्ठि-
 यापि प्रपद्येत प्राज्ञत्वं विद्यमानस्मान्नेषां नित्यधृतत्वं विवचनादितरेषां न नित्य-

तइत्यर्थः। किं तर्हि। यावत्कर्म धृतोऽत्रिदोत्राघपक्रमप्रच्यपवर्त्रपिथं तं धृतोऽ
 न्नर्न तशनेविस्वज्यतइतिगम्यतेऽत्रतःप्रतिकर्मप्रणयनं प्राप्तामपराक्ता। दृष्टु
 कालेनियम्यत। अतएवप्रवसद्विधानादौऽत्रादवनीयप्रणयनमुपस्थानादि
 वंइतरथागतम्रियएवप्रवसद्विधिः स्यान्नतरस्याप्रणयनस्रावादिति। गार्
 पत्यादिति किं। यावतागार्दपत्यादवाधानेऽत्रादवनीयः प्रणीतः। यस्मादाधाने
 उत्पन्निरनुगमनादावपितस्माद्विनीयादेवादेक्षिणाञ्जिवत्। एवं तर्हि। आपका
 र्थं। गार्दपत्यग्रदणं। इतराधानादिप्रणयनमोश्वाग्रतयनादिप्रत्युस्वादिधर्म
 निवृत्त्यर्थं। एवं वदृषणौ स्मृइति तत्रैत्यादिनिवृत्तिः सिद्धा। गार्दपत्यात्पुनः प्रणय
 नेहानुग्रदणसुधरादवनीयमित्यादिः संअदाश्रयितयाचैतद्वृत्त्येतो तप्यातत्रैवद

स्तुतुं
कति

= आवाजराहुमिति शकुप्यति

श्रियिष्णुमः॥ शबर स्वामिपादाः चक्षुःमिदं प्रणयनमिच्छंति देवागानु। इति शब्दो मंत्रस्व
रूपस्य द्योतकः॥ इमं मंत्रं उत्तरतो विदारस्य जपित्वा शाखां वक्षमाणस्य रूपं ज्ञेयं
ति॥ आहुं एतियातिव्रतोऽप्यतस्येति कालोपलक्षणार्थं यजमानेन ब्रते तु पेतसती
त्यर्थः। यद्यपि जपित्वा शाष्णमच्छेतीत्येवं संबधात् जपोऽपि ब्रतोपेतस्य प्रसज्जतिर
द्यापि जपानंतरं ब्रतोपायनं अनुक्रमेण सूत्रपदन्यासानवाताद्यद्वैप्रयुक्ते कर्म
रंजस्य ब्रतोऽप्यतस्येति कथं ब्रह्म। कां दोसीः अथ वाषष्ठीवानादर इति यो गविना
जोद्वष्टव्यः॥ ॥ पस्मिन् स्थशाखापंस्मिन् शाखाम्याः शाखाशमी शाखा तु ल्यो विकल्पः॥ प्रा
चीमुदीची वा। यमपि तु ल्यपविकल्पः। द्यवस्त्वादर्शनावात् कस्मात्तु नः प्राचीनं तावच्च
वदारात्। विप्रस्तुष्टवात्। अत्रस्तु तत्रास्त्रैवेनापि दृष्टात्। अथैवेरिषियं निधानमसि

तस्मात् दात्मनः संबं धिशृष्टत्वाद्दृष्टस्य वा। यवामूलपेक्षया प्राग्गता सा प्राची। प्राग्
 अति। यावदेव मुदिचीव। तौ दनां गतां ततां प्राचीं दमामिति विशेष ए। मिति द्विती
 य एते प्रांचं प्रदारेण मन्त्री छेन्नतु प्राचीं प्रति दनां गता मिति। वहु शाखा बहु पक्षं बि
 द्वाशाखा यस्यापसाम्निव बह्वनिय स्यासेति। अमुष्क मग्रं यस्याः। सेति। असु बिरो
 अक्षिद्रोश्चेति मंत्रां तेनेत्यादि विधिना छिनत्ति। अल्ले चैत्फ त रंतो विदारस्येत्
 औपतिष्ठते। संप्रवातुः। अतु माष्टि। सुचूतायेति सन्नमय इति रुद्धौ। डुक रोति। क्वा
 बायवः। शाखयामावृत्त्यवसानं करोति। किमर्थं यजुर्ग्रहेण। तेनैतत्तज्ञापयति।
 येषां वसानं यजुषा मंत्रं बंधस्तेषां मेव पोषाय वैति यजुषानुमंत्रेण। अत्र पाठत
 नो। निघोरिणे षष्ठी। अत्र पाठताना मिति। तु कस्याः पाकरणं। शाखयोपस्पृश्यमा

विज्ञाद्योऽप्यपक्षते सत्ये तदुपस्यर्शनां तरलमुपाक्षत उदणताय ह्यबहुषु श्रीचव
सुः अनुपाक्षत निवृत्त्यर्थे इतरथाऽप्योऽनुपाक्षताः समायाय स्तस्योपस्य शनिं स्यात्
दन्त्रीपिंजूलैर्दन्त्रीणां पिंजूलानि एकमूलान्यनेकशाखाः पिंजूलानि तेः सदशाखया
वो वदत्यादिमायजुषागास्ति स्त्रः प्रार्थयतिो पूर्वमन्त्रे यजुर्ग्रहेणावु दक्षीति स्त्रो
या बहु केंवा म दे द्रायमिति शाखो तरा मंत्रान्तरदः प्रक्षतिचातुः सुद्धात्रपः अत्र शत
मिद्वायेती द्रशष्ट एवमदेन्द्रिपिञ्जवतिोपराष्टिचान्न हि शतद्विशरदेषेद्रस्या शः सन
थते सं वस्त्रं तस्येज्या विधाना ता एतदुन्धेऽमिद्वायां पिबंती उद्दाना परिचाः द्यु
कु इत्येकवचनोक्ता निमवंतियत घर्म्मिकपालमुपविनोनीति वतु क्रवाः अरण्यानि
कु खसन यजमान गृहानभिमुत म्वापशप नूनपताः अयम प्रसृतैर्ध्रुवा स्या इति
जिष्ठेन सिञ्चनयस्तिष्ठति सद्विहारं प्रयास्य तोयस्मिन्नाः अन्नि समीपे वा तिष्ठ

नीत्यग्निष्ठः अनाः अज्ञागारेवागादपि त्यादिशालायां बुल्यो विकल्पः। अनेकयजमान
 कप्रियजमानस्येति नार्ह्यते। परार्थत्वात्। अनंतरोक्तेन वत्प्रदोः। अनयो गापत्योः
 एषु गोपतिषु पुरोहितस्य युज्यकामादौ। उत्तरतोः। आदानसामध्यमुदितरतो
 गार्हपत्यासिलास्यापक्वसिः। असिलं अस्त्रं परस्परुच्यते। अस्याशाखायां देवस्य
 वित्यस्य मंत्रस्याश्च परस्त्रुमेव विनियोगात्। सविष्टप्रस्तएवैनामिति स्त्रीलिङ्गा
 तौ असिलमिति न पुंसककलत्रवस्यात्। यद्विचकस्मिं देशे दात्रमसिलमुच्यते। तवा
 शोखां तरतत्तद्द्रष्टव्यं। गोषदसीति उपस्थानध्यानं। उर्वतो ब्रह्मनां। गमनां प्रत्यक्ष
 हरदः। निष्ठपनं। अनाशवत्तापनं। प्रेयमगात्। उदात्तादिस्वरयुक्तेऽपः। प्राख
 दन्वानि प्राखे सुखे उदज्जुखे वा। अग्निप्रहज्यनिस्थत्पततो बहिः। अक्षैति अ॥ ५
 निगच्छतीत्यर्थः। द्ववानां पयसि। दन्विषस्तस्य धर्म्ये। पिदि प्रातीत्यर्थः। परिशृङ्गातीति

यावत्। विस्मोऽपि पृथगनां मध्यात् एकं अतिदेशं सृजति मुंचतीत्यर्थः। नाति सृ-
 षानां मध्यादेकं अतिस्थितिः। अनेन तयानां कथं तद्विस्तारं वातीति यत्र सर्वे न दापि पुरे त-
 क्तैः एकांते घटति। शराणां तदा द्रविष्यति। पूर्वार्था रथाः। शेषं प्रस्तुतायाः अति सृष्टयः-
 संशेषः। तं प्रस्तुताय पयः। दिशतीति गम्यते। माधो मोक्षयः। शरास्ततो लुनाति। स-
 नस्वमुष्टिः। कनिपयः। रश्मिः। कंमुष्टिः। लुनाति। ह्रस्वादीर्घेषु न खेषु न खानां वैचाधिक्यं
 किंविश्यात्। प्रस्तुताय दन्तीः। कल्माखाः। प्रधूतः। अर्जुनः। द्याः। दृष्टिः। द्याः। सं। मंत्रैः। एत-
 त्छनिं हृष्टीमादनें अकल्माखान् दन्तीन् लुनाति। अवित्रान् प्रभूतान् प्रभूतान् नृ-
 प्रधूतयः। लुनानि मन्त्रेणैकं। तद्विद्विर्लिंगान् मन्त्रस्य हृष्टीमन्नावाच्च। न रथात् हृष्टी लुना-
 तीति ब्रूयात्। अत्राक्षेत्ताते। न पः। अतश्च बहिः। शनवस्त्वविरोहः। अलवानां बहुलत्वं

वः प्रमृष्टं तदन्तिमं निःसृतं नाना संस्कारकंच ननु आनवैः संस्तुतेः किंचित्प्रयो
 जने सद्सन्नबिल्गाः आत्मशरीरस्य दयं वोपक्वरात् तत्रात्मोपलब्धैः श्रुत्युपि तांशुल्य
 सेनहने प्रतिदधाति अयुग्धा नु संदधातीत्येके धातुं शुल्बा ययोजतीति कोऽत्र यु
 ग्धातुः युजो धातवो यस्मिन् तमुग्धातु न युग्धातुः अयुग्धातु उ ए सं दधातः स च
 दन्तीणां दन्ती कुर्वादि हारिकाणीति वचनात् ननु शुल्बाथे प्रदक्षिणं शुल्बनुक्तं किंशु
 नः प्रदक्षिणं न हनेन पुनं तदि प्रदक्षिणं प्रतिदधातीति न्यंबंधः शुल्बं प्रदक्षिणं पा
 नाषाथै बसिद्धं यद्येवमनुपादेयं पूषाते त्रयि रिति प्रदक्षिणं शसं निधानान्
 संशयः स ह्येतान् आदिश्यात् शुक्लं वर्धतीत्यर्थः यथा लूनं यद्यत्तद्बलनं
 ये वि आनु पूर्णं वचनः अस्तु तैविति विपर्ययात् सु संः प्रलुपि इन्द्राः अतै शुल्ब

भूलाग्ने समाय म्यै क धा गृही चात्र दक्षिण गृह ए मन्त्रा ष्यन्ता ता द्वा एषाः सं न द्वा
 अंतैः सुख म्ब्रान्ती । पूषा ता । प्र दक्षिण गृह एं सुख चो वृत्त तं । से ते मा । पश्चा न्म
 देशा त्वां प्रोचं अत्र देशं बर्हिषः । अप कर्षति । आप स्त्रा अत्र ते बर्हिः प्र क्र मा ता । द्र
 द्र स्यात् । उ घ म नां ऊ हू सु छ्र य एं । हृ द स्यात् । मूर्ध नि शि र सि । उ वं त रि दं वी ह्री ति मे त्र
 सा मा म्ना य र्त्न ब ली य स्त्वं द श यि तो ते न । अ न्वे मी ति न । अ वृ त्ति अ दि त्या । अ प रो ग
 द्ये त्पा । प्र ष्य म्पा न दक्षिणा । नो । वि क ल्प प्र सं गा ता । स मा रो पणे न द्यो गा द प शे गा
 हृ प त्प दक्षिणा । नो । उ त्र कौ । बर्हि रसि । उ प रि प्र ष्ये न मि द्य । ति रि क्तैः अ धि क रणे व र्त ते
 आ द धा ती ति । शा र्वा त रं । अ स्पां तु शा र्वा यां अ न्नि मं त्र यं ते उ क्तं । बर्हिः । श ष् स्प ज्जा ति
 सं स्कार व च न चा त् । व च न्त्वा घ त्र श र म यं बर्हि स्त त्र उ ह । प्रा न्नो ति । श रा स्त दे वं ग

मास्ति यद्वाशोसि देवं गमास्ति एवंगमं देवमदने दामि अतस्त्वं शर इत्यादिषु
 द्रष्टव्यं यत्र अर्द्धशर मयं स्यातां बर्द्धिशो रंस्त्रो देवं गमो इति स्यातां यं तु बर्द्धि सं
 दस्य तत्पश्च करणं तत्तृणी तवर्द्धिषीति वचनोद्दिष्टं यत्रिजनस्येन स्तृणी तशर
 मत्वेन मित्तिजवितव्यं अथ बर्द्धिशर इत्यप्यब्रववतो ह्येव उच्यते मयि निषिध्यते इत्य
 नुसृतीति तथ्या बर्द्धिरसीति शर मये पिस्यात्स मूलिर्देवैर्वाशं श्रेत्र विकल्पे पाला
 शयलाशविकारं खादि रं रीदीतकं चो अष्टव दश चाष्ट दश दारुणियस्मिन् इधो
 सोऽष्ट दश दारुणो अष्ट दशानां दारुणां समाहारस्तदा इधमयूषानुप सं न ह्यब्रव
 जाः आपि इधो स्य मिति तदेत इधमस्य धृतिरिक्तस्य ज्ञावाता त्रीः श्रुतिरेव समुत्तिर्नष्ट
 यजिति विषाये धमुयादाय परिधीनिति इधो पतिरिधेने पसं ह्येति विनिगात्य हि ३९

यवृक्षस्येति वक्रवेयो यद्रियो वृक्षस्तस्येति उरुस्तत्र एं निम्नजातीयनिवृत्तपथं यिञ्चा
दस्य समानजातीयं वृक्षस्येत्पथिनात्र समानव्यक्तिं कस्येति तत्रोक्तविष्टतिरुतम
षिक्त्यामधमस्खलतरा एव द्रोक्षीयानदीर्घतरो दक्षिणः सामग्र्यनिनातिस्खलो नान्यत
अणीयानङ्कसिष्ठुत्तरैतोत्पणुर्हस्यतरस्योत्तरः तसौ समीक्ष्य उत्तरस्य विशेषणं
यंपुरस्तात्प्रायागा ते यच्चस्य षडिधेः पुरस्तात्प्रयुक्तं तत्तस्यैव विशेषणं उपरीक्ष
मुपयदि धातीत्फक्त्वापिशिधेष्टेव कायं स्यादानंतयागिन्ने तदस्ति उक्तं तेरेव सम
दनं दक्षीरिति तथ्यापि मदधियां विस्यष्टार्थं वाऽनुग्रहाय पुनरुक्तं सऽस्त्यनुपय
नेन विषयति किमद्यग्रहणेनात्राहापतदपिलिंगमष्टयकसंनहनस्य षडिधा धीनोः १५
चंद्रादशने ऋषपदं प्राच्या दक्षिणयादिशो र्यदंतरालं दिक्सा प्राग्दक्षिणा ताम्

निमुखाश्चरंतीति प्राग्दक्षिणवाशाः पिंडपिचयज्ञाख्येन कर्मण्येव चरंतीति ह्युपधुयुज्य
 मानस्यः॥ अस्मावास्यायामपराक्लेन नुब्रतोयेतस्य ध्मा बहिः स न ह सुकं । ब्रतोपाय
 नयं उ-अदर्शनी-अस्मावास्यामुपवसेदित्यत्रोक्तं । तन्नियमार्थं च द्रादृशनिमावा
 स्यायामिध्मा बहिः संनह्यतीत्युक्तं । नैतद्विधानसमूहस्य कित्वा हि कजायेति वा
 दः । ननु पाठादावधर्मसंनहनोत्तरकालं न विष्यति किंपुनर्वचनेन इध्मा बहिः सं
 नह्येत्यनेनेति तत्स्यं गार्थं चापुनर्वचनोत्तर्दि कुं उपायिनां प्राप्नोति । न च गार्थं च द्रा
 दर्शनि अहणस्य नियमार्थं चातुयद्येवं च उद्दिश्यामुपवस्येन प्राप्नोति तत्र हि
 चंद्रोद्दिश्य तमात्रावनम्रवे वा उपवसेदित्यस्य पौष्मि स्यासावकाशो न हि प्रवे
 इति द्विवचनं निरवकोशं बाधकं स्यान्न च द्रादर्शनि अहणं निरवकाशमेवाश्रय्य

सो०

वत्पिचकस्य पिउनिधान निषेधपक्षे द्विवचनमर्थवत् प्रवचपरिप्लवचमुद्
शीपंचदशीमिश्रेति सिद्धे सङ्गो यद्भवति । आपनायवा । अथ आपनां किं नष्ट
यतोऽप्यदोतरामुपसेचदाऽध्याबहिः सन्नस्य पिउपिचय इङ्कुर्वीति चंद्रादर्शनात्
यवा सर्वानतदापि उपिचय इङ्कुर्वीति चंद्रादर्शनात् । अथ वति आपनाय
मयुक्तं । कथं तदि लोकि कात्पूर्वमुपवसंति कथंचनौ किं वरुणप्रघामेषु
अङ्गो यजसोमौ यज अङ्गीस्त्रिष्टुतौ यज इत्यङ्गो यजसोमौ किं वरुणप्रघामेषु
कान्वा रसूखत्वात् । यद्वा चंद्रादृष्टिमाहं यथा तैत्तिरीयस्यैकादो नंनवति
प्राचीनाः प्राज्ञा गोवर्दिणमुखस्य सतः ऋक् वीतः अमं वृत्तो जवति वस्त्रविन्यासवि
-वेतः अङ्गमानस्वभूयसः स्रंसं वेदः अजमावतदाध्वजः उः ऋक् वीतः शब्दो व ।

कामेकपवित्रनिधायाएवअदणंकिमथपिचित्रमितिनिर्दिष्टादेकमेवस्यात्तरवत
सिद्धेणविज्ञेयत्वेतयोपकन्निधायायहानवमीवाद्यमेष्टवैवाद्यसिद्धवैवाद्य
द्वितीयाभिष्टयथैरितरथात्रियणरुक्ममदिनप्रतीयेतेकवचननिर्दिष्टावैवाद्य
कविज्ञेयनिमाप्रभितिसक्रयंतवकेनप्रयितयात्रीत्यादिगमनद्विषद्रैरादिप्रयित
नीत्यातुयज्ञात्रीहिसिद्धेवविज्ञेयनिर्दिष्टातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातु
स्यष्टाङ्कोहिसिद्धित्तत्तंलहसाजिनपरिनामितयज्ञातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातु
धनवस्तुरणविन्नामविशेषादिधर्माणिदृश्यंथीनीअस्सांमरापावहयेयंयं
अविद्येवयतीअबर्दतिअतुषनिमोकात्तंततासरुतयज्ञातुयज्ञातुयज्ञातु
ध्वयौलिचाश्रपरेकवतेअविद्येवयंनितिषुह्निगादध्वयुपरापावमद्येवयंनसक

त्रफलीकृत्यति॥७॥दक्षिणैर्नौउदं वंति॥स्यापच्यमानास्तंडुलाउदयतेवाउदने
 स्याऽदकंश्मनीपवित्रेणं तदितेउदंकीमध्याविलंवास्त्रीलिं गाताऽतरयापवित्रांत
 द्दितायामिति स्यातांअपञ्जानीयंतंडुलानाथामरुणेन प्रसद्यं पयंयुवत्जीवतंकुल्य
 मिति क्रिया विशेषणं तथाम्रपयति॥यथातंडुलावस्त्राष्टकपलन्यताऽष्टषष्ठतमित्यर्थः
 ॥यद्वागम्यमानस्यौदनस्य विशेषणं जीवास्तंडुलायस्मिति बकुव्रीहिः॥५॥षतस्विन
 एव तंडुलोत्रवतिनपुनर्जीवधान्यतंडुलाजीवतंडुलाः॥जीवतंडुलमिति तौ बिक्रासीत्य
 न्नस्य तांजीवतंडुलानिति बकुवचनं वाक्यं यति॥तस्मात्तु तस्मात्तु ऽदनस्य विशेष
 णं जीवतंडुलमिति न बीजधान्यतंडुलाः॥युतस्योत्पवनं न विष्यत्यवकिं प्रतिषेधः
 ॥युतेन न वनीतेन वीतुस्तेनेत्पुक्तेउतस्तत्रदणं घृतस्यापिसंबध्यत इति निषेधः॥दक्षि

त एउ ह्यस्य यतिद्विदि एतनु द्वा स यतीत्यर्थः। दक्षिण स्यादिति सामर्थ्यात् एघतो दक्षि
 पातः पुरस्ताद्विदि एणेत्रे स्त्रिषु प्रक्रमेषु पादविकेषेषु। ऊतयत तन्न न धिक् र ए स समीचात्
 अपरिमिते वा अवनव किन्नपरिमाणे देश इत्यर्थः। अवकाशे विपुले परमात्मशरीर प्राउमु
 खमित्यर्थः। अवकाश विपुले परमात्मशरीरादुद्धत्य परमित्यभिमुखोद्धनन निवृत्त्यर्थ
 अवसिं वति प्रकृतं तच्च दुद्धते ननु अत्रेणोद्धतं। किं तर्हि अत्र बोद्धेत तस्यादि अत्र बोद्धता। सा
 दयनीति वक्ष्यति। अत्र यं तु दक्षिणेत्रे रित्यनुवृत्तदक्षिणाम्नां प्रणयति। अत्रेण
 द्द तमुद्धतं रेखाया अत्र तस्मिंस्तीमादयति। समूलेषु संस्तीसेषु सप्तमी। समूलेषु
 अन्या नूत्नानां प्रधानां श्रुतीयायां प्राधान्यं समूलानां मंतमन्त्रित्युदासम
 लेषु संयमितेषु समुत्ततो न्यानुपयके तात्रिति त्रीन्यानुपसंयम्या कष्टं मुह्यत इत्यर्थः

च प्रणीतं प्रसव्यमुच्चावमुद्धूयात्रीनुवारानुसमं तातस्त्वचाकषामुद्धते। उद्धवानुद्धू-
 नावशिष्टानुजपरिस्त्रुणाति यद्वा त्रिकं रिषमग्निं च त्रिः द्वितीयं त्रिर्द्विष्टं स्तर एव
 दाध्यं स्तर एव संपुनस्त्रुनयं प्रयोजकं। तेन पिंडानामावृतात्रीनुमा सोदन पिंडानि दध्या
 दित्यत्रातिप्रणीतात्मा वेपिकर्षत्रिः परिस्त्रीयीता अथ तत्रैकं प्रीना स्वेवाचित्यं मेतु
 त्तत्रैवाप्रातिपदिप्रतिपरिक्लृप्तेति वचनात्परिक्लृप्तममाणः परिस्त्रुणातीति गम्यते
 यद्वा दक्षिणाग्नि समीपं पुनरागत्य प्रसद्यमं प्रदक्षिणं दक्षिणं त्रिः प्रस-
 द्यमादूर्ध्वं घृणुनति प्रणीतस्फोतात्मनः दक्षिणाग्निमुत्तरेणेति युक्तं। अथ वा मशक्ष-
 त्प्रसव्यं परस्य रायेक्षोऽऽय वनं स्फ्यात् प्रस्यद्यं दधी प्रस्यद्यमोदनमाव २१

त्रि। दित्येवं। आप्तोपत्यनेनेत्यायवननं दृष्टान्तिद्वारयतेर्भुदनमनयेतिदेवी। ऊस
 सुकमितिवाससञ्जसुक्कः॥ एतपितरो। आवा हृत्यतिस्त्रिआवतिपरिश्येततत्रणा
 द्यपि। पिटकार्यमि। तत्वेनस्मात्परितनपिनिवकृष्टिःपरिषेक्। सववाक्यानंनुल्येद्य
 बल्लदकचं। अत्रिस्तुप्रसतो। नदक्षिणात्रिरन्योवानिधायनिधायनदक्तंनेवस्वा
 वस्वाष्टाप्रतिपरीयातुं। धंतां। बर्हिरेदमा एस्यापिमूलशष्टस्यगमकत्वातसमा
 सोयुरुक्तंलवतामूलान्येव बर्हिषोमूलदशः। दशग्रहणमूलान्तिरिक्तेपिनिनयनं।
 बर्हिर्दृष्टान्तः। असेस्तुतषु दान्निष्ठुजातिवचनत्वात्। मेहणेनामिहयतिमिश्रयत्यने
 नेमेहणंननुद्वितीयेवेयं। किद्वितीयाग्रहणेमतेष्टाहुन्नेत्यानंतयर्थिस्यात्। किम
 उशष्टप्रयोगेणपवित्रमनुमत्त एमन्बधूस्यतीत्यनुशष्ट। ततः। फलीकरणनिक्ते

विद्याद्विगुणात्ता विष्णुत्ति। दद्यात्तु धृत्वा। पित्रादिति संवत्। विश्वस्वपिच्छ। रिति विना
 पितृश्रुतिं न लभ्यते। अतो यत्तु मा कर्तुं कं पिंडं निधनादिकं। न ह्यधृग्युपिच्छषु दात्तनय
 ऊगानं पिच्छणा दानं न वति। लुप्यते जीवतु पिच्छ। रिति न दमधृग्युविषयमनधिकारिवा
 तस्मिन् विष्टं दक्षिणमिति। दक्षिणा शब्दात्तु पिंडं पंक्तिर्दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यां तत्तदसत्तत्प्रागृष्ट
 दक्षिणावभाशः। दक्षिणं तु दिगे तरालेपि संनवात्तु द्योह्यं योऽस्मान्स्यात्तत्तत्ते
 सोम्यतराद्यपदेशो यथा - न्योपकारः। ति। द्योऽश्रुत्तुष्टपिं वमयीः। संज्ञा - - - हं हं लब्ध
 प्रश्नमांति। उच्चारणसमकालं लैप्यं दस्तलनं निष्कृज्यात्तु। पृथक् पृथक् वा नाम
 गृहीत्वा निमाष्ट्रि। लुप्यते जीवति। पितो यस्य सतथोक्तस्य जीवतुपिच्छकस्य। पितृ
 धनं पिंडं पिच्छयज्ञाख्यं कर्म लुप्यते। यद्वा प्रादृशनिष्ठस्तिस्मात्तु जीवतु प्रपितान् २२

हस्यापि लुप्यते। यद्वा जीवतः पिबेन्नानि। पिंडनिधानं लुप्यते। कर्मधारयो बहुव्रीहेर्बल-
यान्। ७॥ न जीवंते। पितरं पितामहं वा अतिक्रम्य उच्चैः न दद्यात्। तत्र यमपि पिंडमिच्छ-
तस्य निषिद्धानदानमात्रस्य तस्यासति होमं तत्तास्य तत्तच्चायुक्तं। प्रधनरहितं मंगल-
नुतिष्ठंति धीराः। लुप्यत इत्यननैर्वपिंडपिटयज्ञनिषेधे अतिक्रम्यापि न दादेदाति-
क्रजीवंतमिति निषिद्धमजीवतः प्राग् दद्यादिति ज्ञापनाय दानमिषेधः। सस्मदेवेन पिंडेन
ह्यर्च्यं पिटयज्ञौ जीवतः प्राग्दानेन कर्तव्यः। यदि दद्याज्जीवंतमतिदानविकल्पोऽजीव-
पितामहस्य तु प्राग्दानमुक्तं। अथ एव पितृपितृश्रद्धेयदियेभ्यः पितामहोऽपि दद्या-
दित्थं पालयेत्। तदा जीपिटयज्ञेऽपि तामहेत्यतिद्वष्टव्यं। तेन येन स्तेभ्य एवेत्यवधारणं दत्ता-
नरथापि नृद्विनिं स्यान्न हितसौ पिता ददाति। न च त्वारः। पिंडादीयं तान्निष्ठुपिंडः। प्रवर्तते इति

कृते॥ यद्विबुधुपि न श्नेत्कच्छं तदज्ञाने स्वधा दयो मंत्राः पुनः पिंडं निदधादिति वचना
 द्वितीयदृतीयत्रयदण्डैर्लेपनाग्निना वदात्तस्य धादिमांत्रान्नवेत्ति किं लेपमेव न निष्क
 म्याचार्येणैकस्याचन्तामविदितं तेन निमृज्या हं होतं त्रं एशु ग्वानामग्रदणं व्याख्यातं
 रस्तातुयात्र॥ अथ हि जपमांत्राद्ब्रह्मीमावर्त्तनं॥ क्वावाससां कंबलापट्टिकादवीर्यदु
 द्बुषितां च संवा दशां वा उल्लोविकल्पः॥ पिंडं देशोऽथैकवचनात् तत्र या एणं पिंडानां समीप
 निदधात् सन्नपत्तुस्त्रीनिधानविधौ मंत्रोक्तः॥ सा च न भवति निदधातीति वाक्यपरिसमा
 ध्यं तात्पर्यमुनसिदध्यादित्यक्तं वाक्यं तदार्थाल्लामात्यकवचनादेकं ज्ञेयमिति वचयस्योद्वेग
 साग्रजमानश्चिवावाससो वा दशांश्चिवा निदध्या मंत्रा एणं तत्र वयाः पंचाशत् व
 षत्ति न ह्यमिति खलु चानां विषाष तउक्तं किंचानं तं निदध्या मंत्रं न च दरेत् उत तेन

वपस्विनोऽपि नृपदेवं मंत्रजो मनीषा नयस्मिन् दशावास्या नृपदेवं मंत्रविवर्जिताः ॥
 अंश्चाच्यं दैतिमध्यमपुरुषाः दसाविति संसृधृतपित्रा देनमोच्चाख्ये तत्प्रति
 पिउं यथापिंडं अष्टवापिंडं लक्ष्यिष्वं निष्कहस्तनोऽनाच्यं जनलेपं निमाष्टिञ्च
 अंजनं तिलं सपिषिच दस्तदच्यं जने विनिविशषाः नमार्जयं त्रिर्दणं मंत्राविनाम
 थं अर्धत्वाष्टी तद्वतरोऽपिंडो प्रणीतेऽमोऽत्रा दध्यात् ब्राह्मणो वाय दधी स्यात्
 नक्षये त्वाऽस्तु वागमयेत् तत्तद्वाननु प्रहृता भोवी रानोऽछाऽप्रउपपिच्छं क
 र्मक्षबावामदित्या च मनमुप स्पृशनि मंत्रनाचा मर्दिते केन मो वदति जप तीति वक्त
 चो नमस्करोतीति वचनं कायिकं नमस्करस्यापि प्रह्वं च स्यस्त्व कं एषायुऽनु प्रसि
 द्धवाद्यद्वेष्टेण मिति नोक्तं इमास्माकं दिश इति शेषः अत्र दिशति पिदृणं चोत्तनश्च
 = अत्र हणमंत्रं त्रिरुक्ता प्रतिपिंडं मंजलिदानं द्विर्न वति ६
 = वीयतो पितरः त्रीयतो पितामहाः त्रीयतो प्रपितामहा इत्येतावानुमंत्रः ६

ययतिजीवाबाह्वसंतःस्यामेतिवक्तव्यं। आदिनोत्तरस्य पूर्वस्यां तल्लब्धेः। एवं तद्यदि
 त्विषापारिजापातनाहं न मीमदं तैत्यादिना प्रवदू न मंत्रस्यांता न गृह्यते। परैर्बनेत्यस्य
 सज्जयत्यर्थे प्रिवाह्वयनि तत्र प्रजापतेः। शाखां तस्मै तोद स्याद्विशाखायां यत्प्रजापस्य
 मृचमन्वाह्वे त्फक्कं। शाखावा अया विष्टेति। अत्रेता अमक्ष्मक्ष्मदं कौहो उदकुंजमे
 कततो वीष्मा कथाः। अजनाम्यज न पात्र तर्हि। द्रष्टव्ये। अथाना अ पिशाष्टसमुच्चयेन
 हिताग्निनेत्यनंतरं द्रष्टव्यः। अनाहिताग्निनोचपिंड पिष्टयज्ञः। कायः। अथतिशा लान्त्रो
 अपयिष्ठेति द्रष्टव्यं। अपयं बसु रा इत्यग्नेः। प्रणयन अनाहिताग्नेः। केचिदिच्छंति बद्रा
 शनि इतिकाल उक्तः। छा। नस्तज्जिनेप न्य वहुंतीति प्रागुघात्। दपत्री कचात्पिउपिउ
 यज्ञो न नवति। छा। वेदं करो। पिष्टयज्ञादनंतरं वेदं कारात्यामा वा स्मर्या। इध्मा बद्धि

संनहनादनंतरमर्षातेषौसर्मास्यापिदृयशानावंस्याद्भयंपाठक्रमःसंपद्यते।वसुङ्गो
वसुजग्वाकारंदत्तेर्जुयार्थेद्वाराकारिकाणितत्प्रसद्यमावेष्टादक्षिणोत्तरकुंडतंविद्यते
यस्मिन्तुलेःसदक्षिणोत्तरीणःतुलःतंदक्षिणोत्तरिणं।तुलस्यत्रेषुसुलब्धप्रतिनिधाय
प्रदक्षिणोत्तरंतेनसुलब्धेनत्रिवेदमावेष्टाद्दृष्टुंसुलब्धविषयेष्वस्यैवदक्षिणोत्तरंतेनसु
वत्तरसुतरंशुणंप्रदक्षिणंपयस्मिद्यसंमद्युतोवतीयंशुणेषूपेक्ष्यति।त्रिरावेष्टा
त्रिःपरिवष्टात्यर्थः।यदित्रिःसनद्यतीतिसंबधस्यान्तदावष्टात्रदण्डसुलब्धविष्टा
प्रणचंप्रदक्षिणसुलब्धत्यर्थंस्यात्।सिद्धेसत्यरंन्नात्प्रादृशमात्रप्रत्यक्षप्राप्तौ
रंशुष्टप्रदेशिन्योःसंतरालयोःप्रमाणे।सन्नदनात्परिवास्याच्छिवाउसेरेकी
लक्षेष्टथकुलंनेवामूलान्त्रेमूलानिगमयति।किरति।तुलानिनिदधातिरक्षित

निकशेतीत्यर्थः।।वदं॥छा॥पाटादेवक्रियावेदेवेदं दृढचान्नविष्टाति।ज्ञानं तयष्टिभि
 वस्पादशंगंच तस्याभवेत्।ततश्चतद्विकारेष्टो।पूर्वेद्यत्रदणं कर्मचानुमस्येष्टद्व
 र्शितात्।तद्विकारेनचैकवेत्।प्रायश्चित्तैपुनर्योगिजुडे।सन्नेतस्याभवेत्।अष्टापूर्व
 कत्रदणं किं।प्रायेणश्रत्पुनविध्यतास्तुत्रकारः।स्यामावास्यायां पूर्वैद्यवेदिक्
 शेतीतिश्रुतेः।यद्वा निवासानां तमान्नदिति पूर्वैकत्रदणं।उत्तरस्मात्परित्रिहातयवा
 दणं तं करोति।अतर्कदीतिविनक्त्याप्यंतंशष्टः।प्रशंसस्यते।वद्यामधिकंरहैत
 वेदीतिविनक्त्याप्यंतः।मूलतो मूलशाखीपत्रिवास्तस्य मूलस्यावयवंन्यसेत्
 नशकलं।षष्ट्याद्यतिरेकस्यप्रतीतः।शेषं सान्नाय्याजिनरुपवेषाद्यंलिङ्गा
 राणामवस्थापनोत्पेक्ष्ये।तच्चायुक्तं।मूलविद्यमानापद्यतेचयदुपवेषमुक्तं॥२५

रुहती ध्यामणि नोक्तं। वसंत शिशिर वर्षवत्। दर्शयं पादज्जिणं। विकारी दर्शयं यवि
 त्रं। किं विनिष्ठा मित्याह। त्रिगुणरज्जुः। दर्शयं यत्र अदृष्टं नियमाद्यं। दैर्घ्यं यति। वे रुमि
 क्राणीति सिद्धेऽप्यौ रं। न तैनाया क्रादा वनियमः। शाखा मन्त्रलोमो मूलं मूलैः। अत्र म
 नेव स्यजेत संसृजेत त्रं। शिवजितं। एता आचरं। अयं तीरा गच्छती दृष्टमभिमुखा
 क्तु मंत्रयत्। अन्तुल्येतीत्यर्थः। मादृद्र इत्यत्र न म्रचितं तथापि चात्र मीस्यषु विष्टे
 वाः। यवाये॥ यवान्धतिनियमाद्यं। एता मिति रात्रि विशेषेण विषयविधायी सान्ना
 यमप्रत्ययार्थमन्त्रेणानंतयति। रात्रि त्रदृष्टं प्रातरग्निदोत्र सं ग्रहाद्यं। येन रा
 यं द्रघेणादा मास्ते निव प्रतरति सं गृहीतं न वन्ति। रात्रि शष्ट स्यान्निहेत्र विषोष एवा
 ता यजमान अदृष्टं विधायं प्राप्य जावा दित्येके। नियमाद्यं पि देऽग्निहोत्रं। उहो

तपुःश्रद्धाः पूर्वे क्षिप्रं प्रोक्तं प्रथमं जनाया तस्याः पिउं अवयवं षष्ठी निर्दिष्टा तपि उना
 मन्वाषण्डु नः यवाचा पिउं प्रोक्तं होम इति केचित्तु तदसत्ता न क्षिपिउं निधानं यवाक्षेत्रं प्रकृ-
 त्त्वा तस्यायथा वदि प्रकृतता नावदं तस्यावद्यथ चातयदि पिउं निधानं स्या
 प्रथो तद्वत्त्वं तदिह दान् यजीया न्या किं न जुहुयात् एतासि तिसृन्ना व्याप्यं छिन्ना
 तं अथैवं कस्मान्न दद्यात्ता एता सुपवसथ राज्ञी मिति एवं धारयानो यं पर्वणि जुहु-
 यादिति अतः तं च नृप्युतौ नैवं क्षन्ना प्यधर्मिणं क्रमे विधाना ताश्वारवं ताश्वान्
 तौ राज्ञी पयसा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति क्रमाना स्वपायान लज्जायथान्ये स्यौ दवमौ यिक्तं
 स मन्पस्यौ दीयते तादृक्कृतस्मात्तयवा न्या अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति एवं तदिपायानि वृत्ति-
 त्वा को यवात् अहं न नि यमार्थं उपलक्ष्य पलक्ष्य दद्यादिना पिहो मस्यादि २६

तिरात्रिग्रहणंप्रातर्होमाष्टविदातस्त्वोक्ततापयिस्तीर्यस्त्वमिषोपयिस्तीर्यपिस्त्वममं
साम्ब्रवद्विदुःप्रागात्रेदीनस्त्रणातिएवंविधिरग्रीनपयिस्त्रणातीअत्रअग्निपयिस्त्ररणश
द्यात्विदारंपयिस्तीर्यअत्रत्रत्त्वचनादिधर्मणविदारपदायागात्पयिस्तीर्यमाणावि
शेषात्पयिस्त्ररणमपिपयिस्तीर्यतस्त्वद्विशिष्टंतीयातप्रादाशुष्ठतत्तोगाहृषत्प
स्यसं।हृत्तस्त्वोक्ततापयिस्तीर्यस्त्वमिषोपयिस्तीर्यपिस्त्वममं
माणात्तस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममं
हारनिर्देशात्तयद्वाशस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममं
नंदोहृत्तस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममं
वरुशाहृत्तस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममंस्तीर्यस्त्वममं

[illegible]

तत्त्वधः। एवं मं शुश्री एने च। अने दद्युः कस्वेति। गार्हपत्यस्य पुरस्तादित्यर्थी। इति पु
रुपसादयतीति श्रुतः। अने इति गार्हपत्यपरचादवेत्तापानस्य तास्राहास्य इति
मात्राणीति च कुचनिर्दशात्। मं न च बहुवचनाभ्या चंति यावंति स्मृतत्प्रक्षिप्तेनोदकेन
ब्रूयात् तावंति तावंति मं न च। त्या। प्राप्ते न। ऊटी हृत्य नाशे कैकां कथां प्राक्षेदित्य
उक्तानि पथ्यं हि त्पुनः उक्तानि उक्तानि। सुखा निपथ्यं वितीन न न्वेत्यर्थः। अतो न मं रे
पात्राणां प्रयोगे गम्यते। प्रोक्तं। पूर्वोपि यद्विज्ञा। प्रादुर्भुवादा अतः पूर्वोपि प्रति
पयश्चिद्व्येति संबंधः। अमं वादप्रतीषिद्धं सं च रेदं शोस्म चं निघाय पवित्रं तं छिन्न
वायुदितत्र पवित्रेषु अदित्यास्त्वगसी। श्रीवातो। श्रीवायामित्यर्थः। अत्र बध्नुं रक्षति
उदश्च सने। यथा वधूय मनैस्यो दीर्घी प्रतिमां स देशो भवति। अत्र शतिशाम्वांत राद्विशेष

ॐ ह्रीं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

सहस्रा दृष्ट्या प्रसीदन्त्या दित्या स्वर्गसीति पश्चादुक्तं रस्य स्त्रेण तिप्रत्य श्रीवसुतत्रने
मंनिगदद्या स्वाता प्रतीचीनमदं प्रत्यस्यतिकटिदेशं निरुज्य प्रत्यं प्रत्यस्यति यथाध
स्तात्वा मा सद्भवति न हस्ताजिनस्येति निरिक्तं मेव स्तुजतिरिक्तं उक्तं प्रत्यन्यमि
त्यर्थमिव स्तुजतिन विमुञ्चतीत्यर्थः एवंच वामहस्तेनान्वा रब्धं कपालविधानव
त्तुष्टु आवा मे त्रिबेगादृष्टमयमप्यत्नस्वले स्यान्नाश्रमयमेवाश्रविधायकत्वा
मेतस्य तस्या ह्यथवा दः पुष्टु आवासी तस्य आवा एमेनं करोतीति काष्ठमयस्या
यमुपपन्नं नान्नामयस्य न हस्ताजिनमिव नरिक्तं दृष्टिष्वस्य मित्यर्थः शिञ्जान् र्जिङ्गा
सीति हविश्चात्सुष्टिना त्रिरावपत्तिरुक्षी चतुष्टं निरुज्येनैव द्वाताष्टिवाता तदुक्षी
वत्तुष्टं सुष्टिमित्यर्थः पवमसीत्तामीयादीनां हविष्यानावपत्तिमहिचतुष्टिमुष्टिनिर्वा २२

वावपुंशकंप्रतेअन्धेनुआसुषेवइत्फत्तराणिहविष्णानिोदेवतानाईवाएषअह
 त्पयवादादिन्नतौस्सयस्यजिह्वासीअद्भुतिकेति।एवंवस्सत्ततानपयिअहीतंतस्मा
 दन्यदवात्पणुमनोतावदायपात्रंजावताअथवाअग्निशब्देनादवतावचनस्यात
 कित्तस्यदिबनीयवचनः।ततश्चावन्नुष्टेअपोजिह्वासीतिपरिणामेनोहइतत्रावा।सु
 तस्यापिआबलमुल्लखवतदेवस्यादद्य७शमीषेतिस्स्यादिषुदेवाणैर्ज्ञादिषु
 देवाभ्यामूर्ध्वेपेह्यइपिचन्त्योदद्यमिति।तदयुक्तमथास्मात्प्रतिनाति।यद्यपि
 योजिकचंनशृह्यते।दानाहोदिपनादिति।अतिप्रसंगान्नद्यापिपितशेपिदेवाउच्ये।
 अष्टपादिधिकः।सुगगतसाध्यामफलंसा२॥फलीकृताः।हालिताः।सायास्त्या
 जितमलाशतियावलकुत्तं।सफलीततानित्यादि।आदानात्त्राधिष्वेणमयः।पुनरा

स्तरण समानादिमं अस्मानात् न स दंप्रत स्थतिऽतिपठ तपश्चेन निरिक्तं ईष छन्यं
 सजेत् धिषणासिऽष दं न क्षाजिने निरिक्तां श्रूयैष पलां नाव सजेत् धिषणासि
 वती दषदि निदधातीति लोकेष्यं क्रमः अदत्यास्कं राम्याया युगेतत्र त्रिदिति
 तं य द्द्वयो क्रयाश प्रतिमोचनायं कोष्ठं तच्छिरऽपश्चादुदक शीघ्रं वृषश्चाधाम
 तादृषाक्ता कपायेपेषणस्याविरुतौ चष्टाष्टौ स्थवाऽऽशम्य शिरोदृषदाशम
 मिनिधान्यममिधान्यशष्टुत्तरसेऽधिक्रियते मांममसि धिनु हि देवानिति त्को
 तैः प्रशस्तानां मृगयद्विणो मां सानां पिष्टाष्टु रोडाशस्य कुर्वंतीति ननु धान्य
 राद्येयं तदुलेषु प्रयुक्तौ लक्षणे तो मांसेपि तदन्म गोपीति प्रयोक्तव्यः नैवं स
 हि वेदेन लक्षणिकां प्रयुक्तः किं तत्र कर्मः अथैवैरुषेयत्वात् इदं पुन स्वाधीने सुखे २६

शब्दप्रयो गे मैनवति किमिति लक्षणशब्दप्रयुज्यते देवानिति पिटयं ज्ञेयं मे धेक
विचारयेत्तद्धिपिटनितितदयुक्तं देवशब्दस्य शब्दविशेषणवोदनाच्चेदितदेवतावि
शेषचातुविशेषणचैव प्रहृत्यादिस्समुदाययो गेनाश्रित्य यमंगीकृत्याम्पगतं ज्ञेयं
शब्दानां तद्वादिप्रातिपदिकमर्द्धस्यामर्थवत्सत्वेणास्मिन्नायां छत्तुपत्तिपदाश्रयेन युक्तं
स्तत्र मारब्धमुणादयो बहुलमिति पदेवाद्यातं शातं ज। दशदशानां शतौ विधिस्थ प्रादो
लो बनिस्तु दुर्घः संबंधाद्योग्यस्य ते तस्याजिधा यकः शब्दांतरस्तु छत्तुपत्तौ नो गृहीतद्यस
नपित्रेणामपि देवर्चायो गिकं अत्र च देवशब्दस्य कथं पिटयं छत्तौ दः सोमपिटमदादिश
ब्दस्तत्स्वानेस्मवपि चादेवशब्दस्य केवलं द्यति अथ रूढा एच्छिदेवशब्दस्य सामान्य
विषयत्वात्तान्धान्यमसिधिनो हीज्जा नित्यादिसामान्यशब्दस्यो मोन्यो ब्रूषे इति नित्यो

सुत्र। अथ भिदेवत्ये किं धेनुखोषधी त्रिति स्त्री धिनु हि देवी रिति न ता वद्वे बीरिति यम्
 पिष्टु देव चनेठ तौष धिषु तस्य का कथात्त। त्रिका दिषु नक्षत्रे बंधा। उष धिषु हस्तु
 विधिस्थ शब्दः स यदीष्टते। सो मपिष्ट मदादि शब्दैः किमपराह। येन तेनेष्टं ते देवपद
 स्थाने अष्टौ ततपरिहाराय अणुधीष्टादि शब्दरूढौ तुक्तमस्माभिरिति नित्यादी
 न। तस्माद्देवानामसीत्यदि मते दवशब्दो न द्योक्तिः। मित्रियते। त्रिर धिवपत्तिः
 नृणां गावृक्षचादृष द्यधिवयेत्। चात्र मस्यादौ मरुती दृषत्कृत्वा तृतीयां तृतीया
 वाधान्यमसीत्यादिना अमं चोतं सत्तव सत्तत त्रिस्तदयुक्तं। कोऽनु समया
 तीयते तस्मान्मरुतीपक्ष एव प्राणयच्चेति। प्राचीनिति उपजाविशेषाणं द्विर्भेदो
 माप्राहति। एवं प्रतीनीमिति। मद्यादश दृषदः। अथ वद्वे तृतीया तिपाठ एकं तीच्यथी ३०

कृत्वा कृती च। स्मिन्नियच्छतीति। दीर्घमनुसं ततं शब्दो द्वये। अतियुज्यते। एकसंतता
 उपपत्तः। तस्मादद्रव्यस्य सा भवा वि कचा। तप वि क्रिया। यो द्रव्यसंतन। एषं पि न चि न म
 त्र संततो। प्रां चं। प्राउयेष उपोष। उ प ला। प्रा दा। ए प्रा कृ सं स्खे न व ति दी धं श्रु न का ल वि
 व द्नु या न्न पि न्नि नि द्वा द्या। तस्मा दीर्घा द्वि स त्स्या न्मि त्र स्या व। ऋ वे द्द ए द द्वा
 र्थं। मा त्रे न्दिय म मा ह दे वो वः। दृष दो व सी य मा। ए नि त्त स्ता जि ने प त मा ना नि शा र्वा त
 रा त् अ स्या तु शा र्वा द्या स वि न्न प्र स्र त ए वे न नु प गृ क्ता ती ति मं त्रा र्थ वि व र ए। द द्वा र्थं। स्रि
 द्या न य ने मं न्न न च वि शे धो न्ना पि ऋ वशी र्थ मा। ए। ए। मं त्र ए। स्या य प्रा म्प्र त्पा य ना जि
 धा य द्वा ता। ऋ ए। नि प नी त्रे। वा र्छं क रे भे ति। ऋ ए। नि प रं म्। द्वा व स्था नी त्प र्थः। ऋ स्ता
 दिति त्रे। वा दि स्त। त्र ए। लो ए। धा म पु रु षे त स्य ता तं क रु ता दि ति स जा र्थं। वि कु व च ने

= इति सत्रेण वक्तुं वेचनं न शब्द स्व ता दां देशः ॥१॥

ना धोषणीयं न त्रेषां न न्यायं वा बहुवचनं ततः त्रिषु ॥ छिरसीत्येवेषमादत्ते
 अदा नृग्रहणे अंगार स्थायनां यी छि निर्दयं रक्षुः अंगारकाणां नृपवत्तनम्
 विरुद्धं क्रवमसिष्टयिर्वीरं दह अन्वारं नः सद्यैना अपायेन स नो बहिरंगं न
 स्म नो बहिर्न स्मेत्पपपरिवहिरं च वपुं च मेति अद्ययीनावानुया वक्षुः स्मा म्पायत
 नं दशयिति बहिर्न स्म शब्देन यन्मातृकया तमपहत्यादवेयजने यद्विद्युत्प
 दधातीति अनेव हिर्न स्मा शब्दः स त्रिता एवंच चाहुमस्त्रिदुषु यावदर्थमिग्याय
 तनं न स्म कर्तव्यं न बहिर्न स्म नोदवयज नयद्विद्युत्तमस्त्यग्याय तने तस्मात्
 इम्याय तनं बृहत् कर्तव्यं न स्म प्रसायी अने देवयज नो अग्निमंगारमधि रस्य
 न्चारब्धे नु स्रज्जति कपालात् सद्यदस्तीति न्वा न्वा रक्षुचात् नितश्चरो विरोधा ३१

ताधरुणमसि। पूर्वत्वं। दशयोगात्। धर्त्रमसि। पूर्वत्वं। पूर्वत्वं। दशयोगादेवाधर्मसि।
 न धर्मादादिके। तद्वद्विणयागाद्विणयस्य त एव मध्यमादिति पंचमी। अंन्यारादित्ये
 न सूत्रेण विदसीति। पश्चादोशयत्कपालमुपदिशतस्य प्रमाणात्। अनाधिकमुत्र
 रपश्चाद्धयोगात्। पश्चाच्चोत्रं च कपालाभिधानं पंच पूर्वत्वं। चरं हवीं पश्चिदसीति उ
 क्तप्राये। विष्णुस्त्विति च। तस्या सज्जनानां सप्त। त्ति। अनेक यजमानके। अस्यां यजमाना
 न्या। मत्स्याज्जमात्रम्य इति वपट्टिणमत्तौ केचिन्नेर्वेषां कपालानां उपवेष्टकपालस्या
 चां गारावस्थापनादी कंति उपधानधर्मचातुः। अनयवाशुद्वितीयमशुद्वितीयमिव
 यशहः प्रथमकपालधर्मसमुच्चयाशंतेदेतस्त्रत्तानां दृढीतमिवाएवं शब्दस्याप्र
 योगात्। तदेतच्चित्यं। एकां दशकपालस्य समानं त्रयाणां सुपधानां निद्विषं रक्त इत्यादि

धर्ममसिद्धिवमित्यंतं तु लब्धं। अंगारगिरसने वर्ज्यं। शिखातदङ्गपायतनस्य संस्कारस्यातु
 सत्तादवयुक्तं पुनः करणोत्तरसुसंगीत्या। तत्र च विरुद्धा दोषः। न च कृतं पुनः कर्तव्यं
 । शायवापवित्राऽन्ने सत्यपि वस्त्रं पवित्रमस्मिन् कृत्त रणादौ ह्यसमानधर्मवैपि एक
 मात्रे मध्यमादक्षिणे। ततश्चोत्तर। एकस्य कपास्य यत्तत्प्रमाणं तदुन्नयोः कर्तव्यं। मध्य
 मान् कमाजादक्षिणयोः। रुत्तरयोः देवमेकविंशतिकपालस्य पूर्ववृद्धिदिकमात्राणि ॥
 पक्षिणानि तस्यापश्चादिकमात्राणि तथोत्तराणि पूर्ववृद्धिदुत्तरां एष कमात्राणि पंच
 द्वादशकपालेन पूर्ववृद्धिदिकमात्रे उत्तरं त्रयोदशकपाले त्रिणि। अयुक्तमनुत्तरं
 दक्षिन्यायात्। चतुःकपालस्य पंचमात्राणि त्रिमात्रं चतुष्टयं च कपालस्य अत्र
 ईमात्रयोः क्षेत्रमात्रं पंचमं। षट्कपालस्य चैवं चतुष्टयं षष्ठेत्रिकपाल क्षेत्रं दक्षिणे। ३२

२६३३ कपालेषु त्रयोदश सर्वार्हो देकमात्रे उत्तरं कर्तव्यं ३

= त्रयोदश कपाले पूर्ववृद्धिदुत्तराणि त्रिणि कपाला निम्नसिद्धि

कुष्टादिक ४५ अने यो प्रश्न १ वं यः ४

सप्तकपालस्यपंचकपालस्येवपंचमंभवकपालस्योदरतस्त्रीणिपंचमाष्टमयोः द्वे त्रै
प्रष्टनवामवाष्टवद्विदकमात्रेदशकपालस्यत्रयाणासुत्तरतश्चयोरितत्राष्टनवदश
प्रातिप्राकुसेस्त्वानिःश्रुचिकादशकपालवद्विदोत्तरायातदयुक्तेकुतदक्षिणयोः
त्रयोवीएकमधार्द्धमात्रमवशंभवउर्ध्वःकुष्टायाः श्रुष्टेस्याः तत्रकुतएकमात्रेनैव
पत्तिः त्रिष्टकपाले द्वे त्रै द्विकपाले प्रचृतीति त्रयास्त्रिंशत्कपालांतांतिस्फः श्रुतार्धन
मंत्रेणदक्षिणयोः पूर्वमुपदधातिपंचमेनोत्तरयोः परंषष्ठेनदक्षिणयोः परं सप्तमेनो
त्तरयोः पूर्वमिति मंत्रत्रिथमाः शारवांतराः सप्तमेनाष्टाकपाले बद्धिणमुपहितं कपालं उक्तं
धम्मोचिंतेनात्रेयेपिपुण्डुशेडाशे सप्तमेनोत्तरमुपधेयीनदशपौर्णमासिकं विधानमि
तिवचनादात्रेयवतुतामनप्रदक्षिणे। पूर्वद्विद्विपक्रमं प्राशम्यात् वस्त्रं नं रुद्राणां

कृष्णविदितं

त्रिषंगगानाञ्जग राभ्युहं नं वति अर्धः पाकार्यं बात्ना वा ता तद्यध्वमिति द्वि क पा
 लिय दभ्युहो त आश्विनी ष्या त ष्येष्ट्या मिति द्विवचने न परिणम्यते न्याय प्राप्ते अहस्व
 ने मंत्र चार्थे मंत्र त्रिषे प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं रुद्रे निष चनाम्ना ते तन्माभूदिति वचनं एवं त
 यस्वेष्टे क कपालं यस्याहुत मग्नि होत्रं सूर्येभ्य दिव्यादित्यादौ सौ यो एक क पा ले पुं
 डा शो तप्तान्यो धि त्रि त्र प्रा त द्वे हिं द्यो द्यो तित तप्तार्थं मि त्यर्थः कि तत् आ पाः उ त्प व न
 मंत्रा त्प लो को त्तर स्थ लो के हि न्ने नो दा व न पि ष्टा नि र्मै यु र्व ति म ध्य पा का र्थी प्रा
 न् द्वे हिं द्यो द्यो तौ उ क्त मु प स र्ज न प्र च्छ ति स मा न मा द्वा म ना दिति त्रि ष्टो यो य मा ना
 र्था पा च्छा म व धा य प वि त्रै षा द व स्या नि ष्ट प न मा ह व नी य उ क्तं षा प को त इ ह मं त्रो
 न न व त्प ना म्ना ना त् अ धि क्त त य आ ह व नी ये त द्दि क षं स्या न्मा न्नु दा ह व नी य

गर्ह्यसे समर्थाः ॥

ये च्छा केन वा यत्तैः उपमानाया मिति पाठे दुःमिदु प्रदेपण इत्येस्याप पूर्वस्योपमा
नेति निष्पन्नं तस्या एव पात्र्याः संनिधानात् क्वचरो नागान् क्वचा च स्त्री च द्वयं संव
मेता वाचं च यच्छत्या निवाभनात् च शब्दात् यजमानो विस्त्र कोले स्य प्रथिथ्यमाणो
तुः प्रांग शो निविधो तदंत एव पिष्टालपनिधायो पिष्टानां लेपो हृषदुपलान्दस्य
जिनपुमं निष्ठुष्टदक्षिण निहो मार्यं निधा तैष्टुत्प वनं द्या रद्या सा प्राक्षणीषु वै
दोपयामस्त्रवेण विदउपया प्रायस्योति स चाप्ते स्त्र वश्चेतिक र्मा धारयः समाप
ठुषधी रितैति मेत्र वस्तीत हाश्च समोऽस्या सिंचनीति वश ह्यस्यार्थः तद्व्युत्तं मंत्र
वस्त्रिपपत्तैः इक्षीत ह्यिसे वः प्रणीता ह्येत न तप्तानो न वनु नैवैः समंत्र क्मा सि
चतीति वच्नतीति संनियोग शिष्टत्वात् तस्मात्तप्ताश्च समापत्त्या सिंचति पिष्टेषु क

रक्षि
याः

धं सप्तमीऽपः स्फु चिञ्च सिञ्चति यश्चायुक्ता स्फुषित्य स स्फुष्यति चान्न सप्तमीऽपि छे
 छितिनयुक्ता। संस्कार्यत्वात् द्वितीया स्यात् न च सा संभवत्यद्विकर्मकत्वात् तस्मात्त
 स्मानो प्रणीतारुतैर्नासकस्तु हंसी मेंत्रा नावा द्वितीया अकृतेरिति। क्वचिन्मैत्रावरुणी
 याः। वयं तु पिष्टुषु तद्वा अस्मिन्नामः न चाद्वितीयाया सप्तम्या वा किं चित् अकृत्या प्रयो
 जनापिष्टानि च न सामर्थ्यात् संस्कार्यत्वादासिञ्चतापिष्टप्रातिपदिकमपि सूत्रे
 नोपात्तं किंतु तौ विभक्तिविंशत्याश्च स्यामेकस्य संयमनाद्यत्वात् का संस्कारकमास्का
 न बहुवार्थैरतामेकमात्रस्याचित्त्यापि संस्कार्ये सप्तमी दृष्टा। तस्य प्रातर्दीदृशति
 यथा। अत्र च पक्षे संनिचोगाणिष्टः। समापदत्यनुत्स्यते। अद्भ्यः पत्रि प्रजाताः। पत्रि
 प्रसारयति सवर्तोगमयति। तस्मात्प्रसिक्ताः सीताः। अन्यत्र पत्रि सारयंतस्मात् ३४

臣

त्वं च क्षिप्रं हितसा श्रेयस्तेऽस्मिन्नेच्छन्त्यावर्त्तयितीत्युक्तं। न शेषप्रणीता सेको। नापितसापि वि
 त्प्रोतीहीतप्य इति द्रष्टव्यं। तद्विधानायासीदं बुवि संनयति संहरतीत्यर्थः। मरवस्य। पिंडं स
 रुतं संते स्पृशति। एषा वा। आया मोक्षे एण समौ मिच्छा किं नैते। बद्धपुष्पाव इति वि
 कारः। प्रागधिवपनश्च रद्यानमेवं विनागः। कर्तव्यः। अत्र ये अच्यति। समचन निष्ठा त्म
 योरस्मि मशनि। दक्षिण दिगवस्थाना दक्षिण एव सुतराप को ननु यथा देवत भुत तन्मि
 तिन युक्तं। विनागस्यो मिनो यदिकस्या यं दक्षिणं स्ववेति न्नादिष्टे। यथा दुत्तरं यं वधिती
 श्येव संबध्यते। निवीपने वसंबंधः। सिद्धः। वचना तस तावद्वा तादि च्चचा विभज्या यम
 स्मा इत्युक्तैर्ग्राहिती य इतरस्मै स्था मिने। तद्विष्टाष्टमिदमुत्तरस्या निमशनि ते नैका
 नामकर दशकपाले निर्वपेत्। यस्येत्यादौ अस्मि मशनिं हि देवतेन स्या तं यद्वा यथा

देवतस्तु त्रानुप्रकृतता विधिसंज्ञवत्सुदितैस्तैर्होदेवतानां बहुकुंडुक्तं वा तत्रात्रेधा विजनाः
 नृत्तपियावतेननुचान्पुनरितैस्त्रिविकाराः नैवं विस्तृतं दर्शयिष्ये - । तथा चानुस
 प्रकृतवसानपातस्य पुनर्यजितततिपुनः प्राद्याद्विस्तृतवमिति पुनः शब्दस्य न्यमानक्रम
 वृत्तिवचनचातुरदमदं सत्तन्मत्राः कृपा लन्य इति वचनात् प्रतिक्रिया लभं प्रतिप्र
 यत्नं वास्तव्यदा नस्मन एकचातुर्धर्मोऽसि विपुलेऽप्युत्तरं प्रकरणे साधार
 रण्यं तू एकैककामाभिनिर्वाहः कुर्यात् प्रकरणे देवलाघवाद्यर्थमिदं प्रातिमूत्रमेव
 मुत्तरमित्युच्यमाने ग्रंथभारस्याभिनूक्तं । दर्शयिष्ये मासो धर्माः साधारण्यं
 सौवप्रपंचोर्वस्तुस्थे एव संस्कारे मंत्रो वा क्रियमाणः ऋदृष्टाष्टो द्वितीयस्यापि स
 स्कारं करोति प्रकल्पपूर्वद्वार एवा राजसूयं देवतादिवष्टु सुखं योजयेत् ॥ ३५

नानाबीजेषु सत्तत्त्वविः सत्तत्त्वानि गच्छया च्छांतिरत्यं मे ते स्तन्निरासा श्रिये मुत्तर
मि त्यादिभिरुपयज्ञपतिरनेक यजमानके यज्ञपती प्रष्टोतायावते कपालमित्यसे
ब्रंधे - चि - कपालातिरिक्त इष्टातपु रोडाश। एवं तर्हि कपाल के त्रपु रोडाश प्रमाणमिति
दर्शयति। तच्च श्रष्टा फ स्ययतः सतितन्वा। अविद्वारय नूनाद्रिमात्र दस्तेनातश्याऽपि पिष्ट
नेष्पापि कुरति। चरौ प्रष्टानह्योक्ते न क तर्ह्यो। अष्टपाशु चातु। दक्षिणा। ग्रीष्मोयादिताप
सुख्यं विलीनमाज्यं स्यात्तदाश्यां द्योपः। अविनी नमन्यदा हर्तव्यं। उपाधि श्रय एणु कर्तव्य
मवा दृष्टाश्यातागा दपे त्पुपाधि श्रित्यगा दपे ते सप्तमी। तत्परिसर ए कस्मिन् छेजे
ति एक देशे वचनमधी त्कपरि - अथ ए स्यायमं संश्रयं। संपावनं सुदुर्लभं। अत्र नकुन
जननेन एजालेन वा। वै दोपया ममि तिवोदापया मोन्त्रे। वेद उपयच्छतीति। वदोपयगः।

बहुः श्री दिव्यपदोपयाममिति ठिलीयांतं पतितं युक्तं तं रातश्या दिवे दोपयाममाका
मैतवदिक्रिया विशेष एण छातु दक्षिण गार्हपत्यातु च श्रमाः मैत्रं जिं गातु च श्रमा एवाज्ज
उस्यत्तु न दृष्टी गवा माज्य मिति नियमानुगवामितिः सनियमोऽजामहिषि निवृत्त्य
इति चेत्ता एतौ वै यज्ञस्य माता चेत्यादि श्रुति विरोधात्पादिकानुवादो वादिविरोधः
ति चेत्ताने श्वेतागा आज्या ऐतिमु ए नित्यमादु नय निधिमै वा क्यं प्रिद्येता निद्यताना
मान दिवित्तौ वाक्ये नदु नया तत्र कतौ विधनु मानं ए वं तादिं शाखं तरा तु गद्यमा
पठं यदित्तन्यते पृश्निरेति सो ना मय विन्न वेत्तदावा अन्य एवा दृष्ट्या इति मंत्राण
मज्जि धाय कत्वा त पृश्निमु एादरः आज्य स्था ल्योप वित्रव तीति घाधिक्य र ए स हूयो
प्रवित्रे विद्येते यस्मिन् स्था ने तत्प वित्रव तस्मान्नाधिक्य रणे वाज्य स्था ल्यां पत्रे ३५

मवित्रवती तित्पात्रश्रद्धादाशतानुश्रानेविशेषःपरिवाजपतिशितिद्वीष्टि
त्रिद्विजदंसांनान्यनिषधार्थीपुरोडाशस्यैवंधर्मोवाप्लोर्धमान्दत्तादिभू
नेःपयन्निक्करोतिद्वीष्टिपिनिर्दपपत्रिसंतादन्निर्गथाभवातितथाह्वीष्टि
करोतिःप्राद्वनीयादुल्लुकेनिति।केचित्पुष्टौदशमितात्तदयुक्तंअनुवादासौ
पुष्टाद्वनीयात्तत्रयत्रयत्रयत्तस्यतवापयन्निक्करोताद्वनीयेयव
अपयैत्तदाद्वनीयात्तययन्निक्करोता॥यदिगादपयेतदागादपितात्तच्चैतस्य
दक्षिणाश्रेअपणमंविद्यानादेवतदाश्रपयतिःसुतेनैकयज्ञमानकदक्षिणां
यद्गादितिदेवस्त्वामविताश्रपयचिक्लुकेनाग्निनापयन्नुपतीतिशेषः॥इत्तथा
सर्वस्त्वस्मायोःपुष्टमेकवाक्यतयाभितापयन्पयन्निक्करोतिः।
पुष्टपणः॥आद्वनीयात्

=होत्रयन्

विष्टलेपस्य निघारः कायी

तापयनीत्याख्यातएकवाक्यैवास्त्रुदवीडिष्टलतापयअनुवृत्तेरिति मन्त्रार्थः
पुंरोडाशं वा अक्षिप्य तमित्पादिभ्रूत्पासुरादाया प्रवापिष्टलेपं च अत्र विशेषादक्षिप्य
त्रिदोमाद्यं तमपि नमन्निरोधानान्निगमनाद्यमिबोधपरिष्ठादनिघारयति अत्र
तत्रात्यतिदक्षिणत्रिदोमाद्ये धिप्यतका मादिदवा इति प्रुत्तवा दातु स्यादतएव
द्विर्त्रिदोपेष्टमन्त्रानुवापदनुवादस्य स्तुत्राद्यभियन्त्रमग्निष्टेन च दन्तैरेति नियमः
तत्कर्मैव सुरोडाशे स्यान्न क्षाजान्न दन्तगिराभस्फोटयतीत्यर्थः अत्रैवा
स्यतीति श्रुतेः अत्रैव ब्रह्मयासं गां सुरोडाशं दन्तगिराभस्फोटयतीत्यर्थः अत्रैव
गाराणं क्षालिरन्निवामयति तस्मात्केशोऽशिरश्छिन्नमिति श्रुतः अस्मनाभ्युदय
न्निवायतीत्यर्थः अत्रैव स्नस्य हृष्टाद्यैवातुसां गारच्यं तेन सां गारच्येति कल्पित

धृतीभ्यस्मृत्तत्तुः। न समनाश्रुतमपीति च शेरन्निवासमनं न न वत्फपरिपाका श्रुति
न सम संगदाया चोच्चविद हंतः। अय तेति प्रैषा घनिना ग्रीष्मादयः। कुर्वते। बहु वचने
सृजार्थि वा च ङविस्तृजत यजमानश्चाचर्विष्टामपि अर्धिश्रयण दि प्राग वेदिक रणा
स्वाग्यमनापदार्थे धर्मिणा तृणाकापश्चादादवनीयस्य यजमानमात्री ॥ ६० ॥ पश्चा
दादवनीयस्य वेदिं मन आपशि मीती। मन सा सं कल्पयति वेदिः। परिश्रुहिता मया
यथोक्तजक्षणेति। इयमे वेदेदेरुत्पत्तिर्विदादान प्रचरति सामान्ये तयोः संस्कारा
पदेनातं वेदिषु हेती। त्फपयनां यदेवं एवेद्यु रमावा स्यायां वेदा दान प्रचरतीत्येवं प्वदि
करणं स्यात्। पश्चादादवनीयस्येति प्रा योजि प्रायमं सांस्मा मादवनीयस्य परिश्रुहिता
अनुच्यमाने यजमाने स्यन्तुरः। प्रायं प्रमाणं। यथाद्वीधिषिमे न वेद्युस्तथा तिर्यक्

लीयसीपुरस्ताचष्टातिरश्च्यस्थायध्याद्वीष्टितावतिस्मंनवंतिवेद्याद्वीष्टि
 स्मादयेतीतिश्रुतातिरश्च्येतिटतीयोतपावृतष्टातिरश्चामानेनस्यादित्योऽजये
 न। एतस्मादिवौदकसंस्ठं दकिः सादमौष्ट्वविद्याविटतीयमोत्रे। वेद्याः पूर्वविज्ञाने
 ब्राह्मदीचीस्तिस्त्रोनेस्वाः स्फेनकरोतीत्यर्थः। एकतायस्यादेशिणितिरसस्मदयना
 अमंनेदयं नमंस्त्रुजितियावदुसंशब्दोपादानसामष्ट्यात्तुत्रत्यशुदकुसस्त्रेतिनयमं
 शास्त्रांतरेप्रत्यगाभानावपिलेष्टेपनाशकर्मलोपोनदृष्टोतारणचविष्टावपिप्रम
 गात्तुअयद्वेदः। यजमानायेत्यनेकयजमानकेजुदः। यदेनावदिननुप्राविष्ट
 चेदि। अष्टात्रियाविशेषणं। ततः प्राचीनमेतिस्यात्प्रागितिवा। क्रियाविशेषणं
 नीकर्मखेनपुमकजिगताचेति। क्वचनानुच्यते। वमंभित्ति। कर्त्तृत्वासमवेतिनिर्दि

यादिगादिशोदोः कर्मकन्दे समानाधिकरणौ विप्राषणं दृष्टं प्राचीनं तत्रतः प्रतीचीबा
 द्यतः प्रतीची मंतरतः प्राचीबाह्यतः इत्यादि श्रद्धात्रापि स्फुरत्प्रत्युखी प्रतीची
 तत्रैतद्वदंतस्त्विदं रणमुदीची गरा नपाह्य प्राचस्त्री न प्रक्रमोमित्येवमादिकन्दे
 मानाधिकरणं प्रांचोत्फट्य उबदवस्याप्यात्येव दमादिष्ट्वं प्राचीमितिक्रिया
 शेषणं क्रियाश्रयद्रष्टुल्लिग संख्यासंबधजपाचाराद्योक्त्वा स्मृतनकोमुद
 सेति बक्रमुणस्नस्ते स्मिन्नेद्याद्यां रोपितः संततमुत्तुष्टं माष्टीति संमाष्टी उन्नरतो
 गार्हपत्यस्यादवाञ्जमाव। स्याद्यं एव नियमः प्राच्यानिर्वपणपक्षे एव स्मात्तयद्या
 स्त्वनं स्फोनिधीयते। स नृणस्फुमादायवक्ष्यति। लेस्वांते च एतित्ये गिति इद्रस्य
 बाहु रसीति नुषध्या नृणां तरेण नुमाष्टिना ग्रंथप्रयत्निमृशत्योषध्या स्फपस्येति

मन्तेऽन्निमंशनिमयिस्फात्रेणात्मनस्तस्यावप्रतिशब्दोपादानात्तस्य प्रभुपनिय
 मादिनिगम्यतौ उच्यते अन्निमंशः पाणि स्यान्तु तां काष्ठपाणि कौष्ठः मध्यासुखि रक्षते च
 चाततब्धपविषाक्ताप्रत्ययात् पाणि कौष्ठं कृत्यति उक्तर इति यद्देवं सामर्थ्यात् प्रेतं
 सुपवेशः पश्चात् पाणि कौष्ठं करणं तुक्कर स्य उक्तर विषय मप्रमोऽस्यात् न तु कर्त
 उय विप्रतीति संबंधयेत् शारवां तरे म् उक्तर इति वचनात् तस्य द्वाका प्रत्यये रेवती
 सुवारवंतीय मग्निष्टोम सामन्तु ऐतिवत् एतदेव मूलं तद्विषयस्योक्तं रायल
 क्षणमित्यस्य पणोऽसौ मन्त्रं वेष्टेतीयात् प्रादेशमात्रात् तेष्वग्रं दृती योपलक्ष
 णं तत्र निधानात्तासां पृथिव्यावर्माणत्वात् समीपनिर्गच्छुदगग्रं पृथिविदेवाति यक्षि
 प्रहारेणैतियं कुच्छेदो न बक्षि पिच्यते देव पिच्यते नीति के निच दद्यु के विधयत ३५

प्रचक्षते देवशब्दोऽङ्गप्रधानं देवताविषयो देवयज्ञनीतिदृष्टो न तस्यां विहितैस्तैर्ऋगदेवैस्तै
 विषयो योक्तुं न शक्यं देवपितृशब्दोऽङ्गी देवशब्दस्मान्नात्मायं देवशब्दस्तथापि तस्मा
 यमङ्गप्रधानं देवताविषयत्वं युक्तं न शक्यं देवपितृशब्दस्य नं कार्यं सत्यमेव श्रद्ध
 यवाग्यं दृष्ट्या न विनागस्यात तश्च देवशब्दस्तद्वत्स्व एव ऽङ्गीषाधिकिष्व देवकेवलदेवे
 षु दृष्टिर्विदेवौषधियज्ञनीत्यादिप्राज्ञोक्तिको दोष इति चेत् तत्र जंगलजो पोंस्तनपादने
 स्फुटितयिकुप्रहास्यता न सम्यक् एव निमित्तिपों स्तनां विशेषणं शोरेवंत रेकेवलं दृष्टं इति तद
 स्यां शब्दवायां उपस न्स्त्वववाचनिकं स्यात् इतरथा ह्यौषधीस्तं वयजुर्देवतीति ब्रूया
 त्वावर्द्धिता तया देशाच्चेदोदावा दृष्टिरुक्ता ऽऋनेकयजमानकेव प्रुष्टिवा मिति वषट्पुन
 सैत्रे उवर्द्धितनः पञ्चन ह्यपुंरेवात्मा च मंत्रोत न युगपद्रद्वौ तदृष्टदुर्वर्द्धितनः

इत्यं १

इत्थं स्यात्। ब्रह्मानुदेवसा। स च एनं निधाय। मावाः शिदति द्वितीयां। तिर्यङ्मुक्तेन ती
ति। द्रुमस्तदति च तीयां। तदवचणं छिनत्ति। न च एतरे। द्वितीय च तीया प्रष्टव्यायां। प्रहारा
विषयच्चात्। समानमन्यताप्रजं गच्छेत्पादित्वं च क्षीचतुर्थं। त्रुक्षीचदणवमत्रेव
न। दिनिवपनां ता आहृद्वावति। मंत्राभावात्। दवत्तं सीपवां स्फेनविदिपरिगृह्णाति।
उक्तप्रमाणं। इत्थं कलितवत्परिगृह्णाति। रेखया वा परिगृह्य वच्छेदार्थं चात्। स्फुट
हृणं नियमांशं। यिदिशारकोत्तरे मरुतस्थानुषु जेन के दयेति मंत्रस्या। तद। सूत्रेन त
नोपसं हृत्य तस्या चाततो वैपश्ये वइत्यादि ब्राह्मणं तन्मन्त्रापेक्ष। मतो नूनमनूपर्जनव
लुपमं हारः। अपा ररुं ए। येष्या इत्यादिना स्वनित्रे एरवनयति। यावती परिगृहीता
। ह्यं तु जे वा बहुरंशुलं वा। षड्यावेनांशुलेन। उदतादात्र। अस्त्रिः। उदतादिति। अपा दोन

पंचमी चेतु तदोद्धता तृखातादित्यर्थः। ल्यङ्गोपेकापंचमी उद्धतं वीक्ष्य त्रीनुजागान्त्त
 चाह। ग। द्वां तं तयेत उद्धतावके विद्धन्तीति वाशिष्ठो वद्यथा मिहार्थपुरीषोप
 ष्ठादवस्यसंविभुः सवे। स्फेनुमूला निच्छिन्नतिष्ठतश्च दार्शत्रि तादौ नृहेमूलानामग्रं
 वाह्युष्टे। इमो नश्च। यजमान इत्येकं नेयजमानं के उद्धः कार्ये। माध्याय्या संमत
 संनक्तो। प्राचीं उदीचि प्रवणं निमो यस्याः सातथोक्ता। स्त्रिचारु दर्शनीयास्तु
 संस्त्रिष्टावयवेति यावत् साधुता सता साधुवात्तं यस्याः सातथोक्ता। अत्रेति ला
 वयवा स्यात्तथा कुर्यात्। यथा चो सा स्यामाहवनीयी। ओ। ऐत्थ्यो गार्दप तं व्याक्र
 यात्तथा कुर्यात्। आह। येषु नृषं यस्याः सातथोक्ता। उणम् न मेत तेषु रुषा श्री। ज
 क रण दर्शपौर्षमाधिक्षत स्याधिकारा तावित्तौ न न वत्स्य अदर्शपौर्षमाग्रधर्मचा

[illegible]

कथमशेषं ददुक्तं स्वात्मनि प्रिषानुपयत्ते। रश्यावा संशा न्ति संस्मरति। मंत्रेण प्रशंभ
 शपतीति। नियमादृष्टाश्रमं त्रः। साम - - - - - आह तस्कारवचनं चतुर्जातिवचनम्।
 घृतमासादाय अद्। अज्यमिताया अज्यास्या दकाशानि निस्तुत्रदर्शना। न्नादसं
 दृतं अर्हते। स्तत्र अज्यशष्पुजात्यभिप्रायः। त्राह ताज्यप्रसंगापत्यचावात। एष वाज्यव
 त्तिदध्याज्याभ्यामुदहीति। विषाषाणाचायीनापसत्तुदशिता। निवृत्तं एप्रघासं
 प्रतिप्रस्थातापत्नीसंनद्येति वर्जं संस्मरतीति नियमाः। अतः समस्तं स्क्रुचं समाग्रीणा
 दालुयावन्नसमाष्टिन्तावत्समाश्रिनिष्टन्निरिहौसमार्जनस्य सुचोदाह
 त्यनुपपत्तिरिति। दिक्मिर्त्येसत्यस्यानंतार्येष्टसमार्जनोन्मृदुणायास्तथा
 यन्नावध - साननं मंत्रस्य संबंधः। शारवांतराशुमंत्रवर्णश्चि। संस्पृष्टायथास्त्र
 नां। संमाज्याप्रतिपत्कत्तरं यथा स्थानत्सादनस्त्रेत्तादन्याय्यक्रमाज्ञायता। नप

वाश्रन्निममयोत्राधिश्रयणादिवत्किंतर्ह्यदिनाद्यासादनांतंमुणकोडमेकैकत्र
 न्यसनीयांउन्नानुक्तुखाःपन्निपन्निपन्निपन्नीजाकापस्ठानेक
 विहितदत्तापिपठत्तापितमपिक्वच्येयद्वापन्निपन्निपन्नीजाकनमस्तेअ
 मुमामादिहिसीरितदद्विषादपरस्यपन्नीजाकमुपस्थापयतीतिपिउ
 पदेशातुपन्निपन्नीलोकोपस्ठानेकविहितप्रयुक्तैयथोज्ज्वलीवचियतीत्यत्राज्जिती
 ब्रह्मिप्रयुक्तदद्विषादपरस्यपन्नीजाकमुपस्थापयतीतिपिउ
 तिनान्नीमंत्रादवप्रासचात्अन्नेष्टदूपातुपविशतिप्राहुस्तु रक्षपविशतिअन्ने
 शाअन्निभ्योद्यावृत्तास्यादुक्तंचक्रतोयावाएतस्यपन्नीसाएतंगादपत्यंसंप्रति
 समीचीञ्चान्वाप्तपश्चादितिजानुनीप्रबुज्याःआशामनासौनस्यप्रबुज्यजानुनीधर
 उपविष्टुयानिःप्रतोजानुनीप्रबुज्यप्रगात्जानुनीठचासौकायीथीशचूदनना

मर्थः। अतः तो वस्त्रस्य परिधानीयस्य शारवांतादिणस्तु वस्त्रस्योपरि संनद्यति
संवृतं च योऽक्रंत दृष्ट्वा। त न कुंभीं हि अत्रापि न देवयुक्तं दृष्ट्वा प्रयोजनं वस्त्रं संयम
न संनद न स्यात् एवमदीक्षितपत्नी संनद्यति नादृष्टार्थं चिपुनः संनद्ये तततो निषेधा
न स्यात् अस्ति सा। किं तु। दृष्ट्वा अचि सत्यवकल्पता। योऽक्रंतं दर्शयितुं रूढा हे दर्शना
त। मौलं शारवां तरात्। पत्नी मिति द्वितीयां तपा वेधयुः संनद्या ता। स एवाप्यनुपसृशेत्
क्राप्रत्ययात्। संनद्यति। पत्न्ये व संनद्यति। तथा हि संनद्यति। अंशं निमं नद्यति। संशा
संनेपनिशब्दं पठंति। तदेव मवकल्पते। यद्विचयं संनद्येदिति। वेदोपया मेति। अज्जा
वेह विशेषणं। स्त्री जिगं रपय मन कलाश्रयं। षपचोरात्। एवं च। रुस्तेन च ही च।
उपमावर्त्तते। नान्यथा। वेदोपया मत्वा अनुपपत्तैः। दधति मंत्रावृत्तिः। द्योराज्यस्थान्य

चक्षि पंथा मचक्ष्या संनवात्तुद्दणमशक्नोते जौसीत्पादि। दध्नो धिअयणुं नै कंति। द
 ष्ठाअवात्तु। धर्मेपान्ने कर्त्तृं नानुतापनमित्यपरे। तदनुपपन्नमतिप्रभक्तेः। विधिवा
 क्षीनस्या। नयश्चविष्टं वतान्नयं वानां दद्याज्ज्यो रधिअयणुं न स्यादित्पादि न
 दृटे। यद्येवमाज्जमपि नाधिअयित्वां यद्यि मस्मीतेने वां दीर्घका लं विलीनाताये
 प्रसन्नाथीमधिअयणुं। मंत्राधिकरणं चागादपस्यादिनियमाददृष्टाय। ५ दं बिभु
 रुत्तरतः। ओक्कणीनामिति शाखां तरं। अस्यादिशाखायां स्फ्यस्य वत्तमसादय
 तीत्पुर्त्तं। तत्र स्तत्र तताशाखां तसादवप्रोक्तिर्यः सादिताश्चाशाखापरित्यागे
 याद्विपरं स्वल्पं स्वल्पं च्चापि। खकुपरस्वंगस्य तद्वितीका रणमिति विक्क्याथं
 शाखां तरानुसरणं मूत्रं करस्येति न पुनः। स्वशाखापरित्यागाथमिति हव

नाथैर्धर्षितं। वेदं चाण तथा सा दयतीति च श्रद्धा तु पृथग् यौगकरणञ्जनयुगपत्
 सादनं पृथग् यौगद्व्याख्यावदणाय षट्ठपया माशुसमादित एव पन्निद चादक्ष
 सहा साद्यतां अष्टपिदाष्टिभ्यमथेनाज्यावेक्षणं कृतं तौ तदा क्षिप्रयणादिसादनं तं य
 दियुगपद्व्याख्ययोः स्यात्तिदा इदं विस्तुर्विचक्रुमातेत्रे धानिदधोत्ते पदा समुत्तम
 योऽस्मिन् विस्तुशब्दस्य सत्त्वे तस्य चातुतुक्तमाज्यं वैयङ्ग्ये विस्तुयति पतद्वाचनं त्रि
 णिति वाचनं नृपवासदीनि तच्चैतत्तुक्तं वेदोपयामेतीकृत्ते च स्मना योदुनं वापि श्रि
 त्मादाय। कर्त्तृचापापायाः स्रष्टुहस्तस्य दक्षो दक्षिणे न सादनस्य युगपदं संनवाको
 यमूदप्रसंगास्तजोसीत्यानि गद्व्याख्यातोर्वेदेष्वेव यद्यपि दध्याज्ययोन्मत्रोते
 नयुगपदं वेदं संनिपातयिष्येति। वरुणप्रघासेषु च तथापि तेजोसितेजोसीरु

इति तैत्तिरीयसिंहेति च नो दितं च। कितस्य वृत्त्या पृथगवेक्षणं द्रष्टुं नैदात्तु नानाबीजा
 निमग्ननिवत् आननिवाशयेन नानाबीजेषु होममनक्रियते। इमे देवानां। इमा नि
 निनचयुगपदवेक्षणं संभव। एकत्र नांतरीयकबाद्यैस्तं घटादयो न्मीलितं च छं
 पटं न हि सुध्यत इत्यनात पृथगिति। अपि च ते जलुक्रं ज्योतिरमृतं महः सत्यमि
 त्याज्येन समाधिकरणेन प्रयुक्ता। उपाचारादुपनामादासंस्पृष्टिषा ब्रुवाद्वाक्य
 वैश्वदेवैश्चानशदयज्जनीयां देवस्था सद्या स्थाते स्म त्रैधा मसीति स्म वै एण्य
 स्म वग्रहणं पात्रं तरानियमाया अज्यानीत्यनावाचां। त्रक्रमां नियमाद्यं चेत न द्रष्टु
 तराभावात्। तद्विक्तैर्नो द्रष्टुं नियमः। नृक्रातीति श्रुतमाहुः। अहणं मंत्रो नानुयने
 अथ वानयनार्थं वा त्ग्रहणं श्यानयने मंत्रास्तदुक्तं नीयेति। याथावत्स्मृपदिने प्र

नृतीत्यत्रादानमुपोदनाद्यैश्चात्। अज्जानीति वचनात्पंचानां चावातना मितियज्ज
 मानं विश्वदेवेभ्यो ह्येतो अस्मम वा या त्सं रयाया। अत्र उक्तं क्लृप्तातिप्रयज्जिभ्यस्त
 ऊक्तातिस्वस्मेवा एतत्तयज्ञाय गृह्यते यक्ष्वा गृह्यत इति वचनादंष्टो न च उ
 पनृति द्वे चतुर्ध्वे दीते इत्यष्टिकनी यो ल्यतं स्त्रवग्रहणा नि प्रा यं कनीय स्त्रं गृह्णे
 निति लि गत्तदितरत्रापि समानं। अत कर्तव्यो यत्तः पंचतंत्रे चैकवा यो नृयिष्टमिति
 प्रस्मिन्नावानि प्रार्थय स्त्रवा धिवा क्मा देवजो देवा ध्नौ वै नृयिष्टं स्यात्। अज्ज स्वांती
 स्त्रवं। दृष्ट्वा यमिदं गार्हपत्यां तो निधानैतेनाज्ये ज्ञेयो न स्यात्। दर्शमुपादाया ब
 दिष्यति कोचिता अर्धं दाक्षिणतः। अर्धं मुष्टोर्दक्षिणतो वेद्याः। प्राक्षिपेत्। देवीरापयति इ
 दीरयत्फद्गृह्णाति ब्रतमनः। घृता दातु स्येतो देवधृतं चैव वा नूत्सु युहिय रिषेष्टारस्ते

नृयः स्मेति प्रोक्षणीरुपादाय। हर्वस्येवायमनुवादे। यथा देवैस्ते विद्यां पदानि
 लो न यंति सुष्ट्या हन्। सन्धिः। वेद्यां पदानि प्रतितिनिदिता निउदीरणी तपवनादरा
 क्रम्य करणा ताउ क्ररे लोचनानि प्रविध्यातिदत्तानि तप्यः। अत्र पउपस्युहस्तौ प्रक्षा
 न्येत्यर्थः। विषाये धर्मः। श्रीश्रं विमुच्योपादाय परिधीनः। ह्रीवा उयममा धायेति पा
 ठे पाश्र्वतिः स्थापयेत्। ब्रह्माणममं च ब्रह्मं निधमिति शास्वीतरमंत्रेण। हस्तौ स्या
 खरे। शाहत्यादिभिः प्रोक्षति। अन्नीषोमीयमवनीयानु बंधा सुबर्हिः प्रोक्षणे म
 त्रैवेति पदद्वयबाधो लोपात्। यद्वेत्तरक्वादिर्भेद्यथेचि स्यात्। प्रोक्ष्य पश्चाद्देवेभ्यः।
 प्रोक्षेत्। अनुवादाः। हर्ववत्। वेद्यात्पवयवषष्ठाद्रष्ट्या। वेदिगादेपि त्पावंतराध्वयु
 बर्हिषोऽवस्थानानुपपत्तेः। पुरस्तात्प्रोक्षिनिदधाति। पुरस्तात्प्रोक्षीति क्रिय

हस्तसूक्तचं मुक्ताङ्कस्य

विशेषं बन्दिर्विशेष एव। अत्राणि प्रोक्ता कश्चमत्राणि उपपिबंतीत्यत्रैता उपपचारात्
न विष्यति पानं शोषधयः सेकजलं पिबंतीति उपपाययति सिचयतीत्यर्थः। सामा
न्यमत्रास्वादापि यनिगदद्या रथातं। मार्जनार्थमवशेषणाय शाखां तरंगद्वयं उडुर्व
स्तुचं उडुह्योदगृह्योत्पन्नं। ऊर्ध्वमुडुह्येकतशदानर्थं काप्रभृगस्तस्मादुह्यदस्तु
सार्थमुक्तेति यावत्। एवं दिव्याभ्यं दक्षिणतस्तस्मै नपवित्रयोरादानं सिद्धं। इतरथा सद्य
स्तस्मै चैत्रचापवित्रोदानं स्यादक्षिणतः परिक्रम्य। विह्वारस्य वेदवर्षादक्षिणतो लुगमने
मत्रा। अत्र माछा विस्तोऽस्तु। प्रस्तरं दर्शयिष्ये। मपादेत्तव दिषः। अपदोयन्त हू
तेयजमाने प्राणापवेत्ते दर्शयेत् प्रस्तरं दर्शयिष्ये। विसृजति अत्रातिष्ठातिष्ठा
प्रापवित्रे उपमदादौ विष्टतिवत्पुनराह्ये। प्रस्तरवत्त्रावदिषस्तरेण विनियुक्तवत्।

पवित्रांतरे विनियोगे दृष्टास्तस्माद्विद्वति प्रस्तरवस्त्राधारणं पवित्रयो रपियजमा
 नयोः यजमानेषु प्राणपाना विनिविद्यता हृद्ः प्रजेण दवनी यैः प्रजे ए पु रस्ता
 ज्ञा दवनी यमा दवनी यस्य पयहि त्वपरिणी य प्र स्तरं दन्मुष्टिं ब्रह्मणे कृचि शवि
 शेषा य प्रयच्छति समर्पयति प्रस्तरमिति संबध्यते परिहरणे न च यमानो यवा प्रय
 छति उल्लो वि कल्पः परिहरतु रर्थं प्रजे ए गमनां ततश्च यत्र प्रसार्थत्वा कुमाद
 वनी यमं प्रजेण प्र स्तरं परिशेजं प्रा क्यते तत्र तनिवर्तयनी तिस्र्यं गच्छेत्परिहर
 न्निति च यनादौ तु गमनार्थं प्रश्नारितत्वा दो रश क्यत्वा नाना र्थसंबंधः प्रजे एणद
 नी यं प्रयच्छतीति परिहरणयो गातुः पुष्टि रयि सुखतो अत्रतः स्वैः प्र स्तरं ४६
 ह्नातीत्यर्थः यदृक्का प्राप्नो प्रतिषेधमाह नो नृज्यात् दस्तेनार्थं प्रसरे मृष्टानु दब

ना वमृज्जा। न्नवाची तं म्रदे न विधुनु गान्न प्रतिचालये तय दुपतिष्ठे दधुर्मुदं स्ता
दपे तमन्यतय त्रतिष्ठे तै न वे दुपतिष्ठे तं न्न तत्र उ पचित्त मंग त सं ग तं तृ क्कया दलुव
दोय मतो विषय रित स्य प्रतिष्ठि वा तु विस्त्रै स्य सुलुं। बंधनं विस्त्रं स्य मोचयि वा फभा
तां सं बंधे। उप सं य म्य। धा तु नु पचित्ति क त्र तृ दी वा। अथ दक्षिणतो। य प्र द्दि सा द
न। उ दी रणा व स रे ते षां नु प सं य म्य सु लुं तै षु द र्ने षु प सं य म्येति सं नि क षा दि द
यु क्त त रं म ती उ रु प्र थ। वे दि सं स्क्र ती न्न मिं स्त्रु एता वा ढा द यति ब दि षो वे दि द्वि ती वा
न वा त। ब दि ष स्ता द थ्यं। स्तर ए मी त्रो वे द थ्यं। स्या त् ब दि षो नि धाय को पि स्तर ए स्य
ब दि र थ स्त्रि न्न वे द थ्यं। ता वि द न्यं ते। अ पर म पर मि ति पु र स्ता दु प क्र मा द्भव ति। अ
प धा चि नि स्तर ए वि शो ष ए। अ यु जो वि ष मा धा त व स्तर ए सं ता ना। य। स्मि स्त स्त

दयुधाडाबहुलं नृशिरः नारीकं अक्षिद्रं अरेण प्रत्यासत्तौ विदारवा परणाम
 तापरिक्रम्य लंघयि चानपादौ स्तरणौ विक्षेपघाविति त्रिसिधात्रुग्रदणी प्रस्तरं धा
 रय नपरिधीन परिदद्याति अत्रादवनी यं अमं तात्परिदितै कशोतीत्यश्रुतिगभ्यतैर्ग
 ध्वेसितीति प्रशमं पारिशोष्ट्या त एवादेष्टु रस्तादित्यस्योक्तं चातूदक्षिणं त्रोर्द्धीयो सं
 उक्तं त्रुसिष्टमुक्तं अत्रैव न्यादध दिति सं दधते विक्षेपणं कर्चद्वारकं अत्रैव न्यादध
 दं विषममादधदौ दधानः सं दधाति समौ संधी कशोतीति दक्षिणस्य मूले उत्त
 रस्य तु मूलान्त्रे सं धेः अ धिगतमिति नेते यथा ज्ञवतस्तथा दधतसं दधाति अ
 त्रिदित तमं दक्षिणं कथ्यते इमौ प्रतरं कशोति इमौ मध्यम दक्षिणौ परिधी प्र
 रं उत्तरा प्राग्गतं एकवचनं क्वां दस्यं प्रतरमिति क्रिया विशेषणं वा इममपतर

इमं उक्तं पञ्चरिधिं ऋपन तदं द्विष्टात् तत्र तपःश्रुतं ऋष्यानि धर्मस्य अमपतरं स्यादव्यथा वा ना
 सात्त्वरज्जियस्तुते। क्वाप्यायस्मृतीयेत्यपरिधि संक्षेपज्ञवादिदित तमख्यया ध्यास्या
 तं एवंपुनरशब्देन वति अतिदित तत रमिति पठनीय तमवश्यं संनजते अष्टीति रं वा यस्मिन्
 स्या एव अते रान्वषणीयं। इध्मदारुः। आदायेत्यनुवादः न ह्यनादायो धातुं शक्तेः। तैकस्मि
 ह्मिन्नेष्टेऽधिद्वितीयमाधारसमिधमिति स्मृतिं गतुं धर्मापेक्षं द्वितीयमिति स्यात्सूर्यस्य
 स्त्रीरश्मिनिः मनसादित्यापरिधीय तमं त्रौवस्मिन् रणेन वा विस्मज्जनस्य विधतीत्युदेनै रति
 प्रस्तरं ग्रंथं प्रज्ञाते तत्रैवोपकर्षेत्संनयेद्वा। पशौऽनदन काल उपादानाद्विच्छेदः। इष्टं
 कृता विच्छेति। यूपदेष्टुन संधौ वाचनवत्। एवं च विनियुक्तविनियोगान्न वेत्त्वदिष्टः। पवि
 त्रे ऊरुत इति वचनात् विनियोऽप्यमाणा स्या न्यत्र विनियोगः। पुरोडाशकपालेन पावापव तप
 रिजोऽनीय बहिर्विबर्हिष्टाष्टं प्रयुक्ते संत्रं हं तं तितेन मुस्य दिष्टिः पवित्रे कर्तव्यं तिति आनी प्रे
 तसं स्मृणाति सा मेति श्ची। उदीचीने सादयत्यवस्थापयति। चतुरं सुलमात्रं सृणयोः। क्र
 त्वा पुनैति

अथिद्यासः

ननुना

तस्य मध्ये यथा न वतितथा सा दथे। ६ स्तनां रुद्रा विधुत्पो रुणरि प्रस्तं सा दयति
रिक्तं आधे यस्तन्यं नावस्तु जति तमुद्यति। द्यौ रसि जन्मु हं प्रस्तं रे सा दयति असा
द्यजु हं प्रस्तं मरिक्तवान्वा रनेते समं प्रस्तं मनेदुसू लं कुर्वन्तु सा दयतीति क्र
तरिक्तमस्मि अथ स्ता दधरे विधुत्पोऽप्यरिष्टा इदं विधुत्पो क्रिवां अ सं सक्तः अ सं
नमाः अ न्योन्यं अ नृवीर न्योन्यमनु स ताः अ निदित तमां उपष्ट त क्त्वा याः सका
शा द निदि तत रा उपष्ट तं सका शाजु ह्य रा ह वनी य सं निट्टष्ट त रा ए वं चानृवीर
त्यनु वा दः विदोपयामा अ ज्यं अ ज्यः स्वाल्फपयाम इति नो कं। यथा देव तमु
न्नरमिति या स्थावीरुतो दोहा वनिघा रयेत् प्र। ग निघारणा दा भिद्व्या भितिस
त्रा तं त्रवस्मी मवि वैदितं स्त चो यो निरिति वतु। अ दित्या रन्वो प स्ठ इति तु इत्सु
४

३ विवक्तिं ३ स्याल्ल्याः भूमिं शायाः पर्वेण प्रणीता हरणवद् भिच्चारणा प न यति नान्यथा। ४

= पुरोनाशपात्री३

विद्यते२

र
क्षेत्रस्तसादनमंत्रेसतिस्त्रत्ततासर्वस्त्रुपक्षद्वोतकंवस्त्रनामिति विरुद्धमेक
स्त्रुपक्षेङ्गीतं जुक्तं प्रस्त्रेरेसादयति। सवविवास्त्रवद्वतिसर्वपक्षे प्रस्त्रेरेष्वितेन
जुक्तपक्षे। स्त्रोनांतापात्रीचे। तिलिङ्गादेकोमेव पात्रीउपस्त्रुणातिउपक्कादयति। वे
दोपयामएवाऽऽर्द्रिष्टुष्टु। उदंच उदीवीनं उदासयति। उवतायति। अन्यत्र
करोत्पीत्यर्थः। उदृत्यदेशां तरेनिवासयतीति धावर्था। उन्नयनवर्णं त्रोंतनक
मदिनं दृष्ट्वा लनमात्रमेव कर्मदिदेशां तरे प्राप्तिर्योगा तनेवा। माकाशदेशा
सुरविवद्वितच्चातस्त्रचित्तश्चित्तचलतेदनिवासानुपपत्तिः। स्त्रोछासनं स्थानात
प्राच्यावनं उत्तरतउदासयतीत्यधिकरणते। उत्तरतइति देशस्यदिशा बोद्ध
सनस्यऽऽतासादनैविकक्षेता। उदंउदासनमप्युत्तरतस्त्रुतेषु स्त्रुते। तन्मयनं

देश यत्रैव न्येदितीवाक्यां तरेण तदविवक्षते यत्कं नः तद्देशविशेषे स्थापनप
 र्थितं स्थापनात् प्रच्यावनं न प्रच्यावं नारं नै एव देशविशेषे तैतययति स्थापनां तदेना
 पचस्मानं संनिष्ठो योत्यश्च तथापि नियम्यते। वदेनेति अत्र पनी तं न समयस्मा
 तस्योपचस्मानं अत्र न निघ्ननुपापि नावेद शिरस्याच अत्र पचस्मानं कुरोति। नस्मा
 पनयते वेदपाणोः संनवाद निष्ठा तस्य निषेधः। यद्वा तस्मिन् सिद्धा मितरति स्म
 सादन विशेष मन्निर्घ्नै निती वेदपयामानुवृत्तैः अन्निघातात्। स्पशं नः अत्रुन
 योपि पाणिने वा तोवदत्तविशादनं सामर्थ्यात् एवं शिरः प्रतिषेधेन ध्वं वेदम्
 त्वाऽन्निघातात् अथ शिरसां तदधान संनवानिषेधः पाणिनिषेधो न ध्वं किः अत्र निषि
 द्धः। पाणो वेदानुपवीनिवगम्यत एव तदिदं द्यात रकृचं स्पृष्टं स्यात् पाणिनिना ४८

सादयितुमशक्यचान्नचपाणितलेपाणिशब्दः। समुदायययित्पागोनवेदंतेषामि
वक्येन निघ्नं नित्यादिपदत्रयमनर्थकं स्यात्। अरं समुदायपरित्पागेन तलमात्रय
दणं विचार्य तत्किं युक्तमिति यवानां मध्दति क्रूरशाखां तं रं दरा नृतिः। अष्टिष्ठ
अष्टिष्ठारस्यो प्रथमोपहितैर्विवचनं प्रकरणमिप्रायं। प्रकरणे द्वे एव प्रथमोपहि
तैः संभवतः। दुष्टतयोश्चितिवत्तयद्येकवचनां तं प्रथमोपहितमिति सूत्रयोन्नदादि
तीयपुरोडाशकपालेऽप्रथमं स्यादप्रथमवान्नचसत्तमं त्रैलोक्यवन्निघाययिषु न
ह्यविवेकिवत्तुः। त्वचामं त्रैलोक्यस्य तत्प्रथमोपहिते द्वितीये सुखस्यैव वति द्वितीयस्य
संसारमीषा लोकोद्देशिकस्यो नाप्यचाच्चायदिवत्तुः। का निघारणमग्निम तं स्यात्। प्र
थमद्वितीये कपालेऽतिशूत्रये तत्तुपधानेपि प्रथमयोः। एवावाप्राक्षां गारादेतयो

सि

रवानिघारणं युक्तं। दृष्टिरसिगायत्रलंकलोति। आज्यमेवां न स्यालंकरणं स्वकं
सुप्रदितं। अनिकायं निक्षेपणमकुर्वंश्च वेणुहस्तेन वा। अमर्षप्रष्टतं पृषद्विदुषे
द्दीप्तिश्च बर्जितं। अमृष्यं तमित्यर्थः। अपर्यावर्तयानपत्रिसारयन्। अधस्ताच्चोपा
नक्तिः अधः। समपि आज्यं हारयेत्। यस्तस्यामायस्य। इति दोहोऽनेलंकरोतीति सं
बध्नुमानेषु नरलंकरोति त्रदणं स्वक्त्वा। दिशुणनिवृत्त्यर्थं। अन्महाहरति। आद
वनीयं प्रतितुद्विधाहरतीति। सखनोसि। सादयति। दिशुते। कुक्कः। प्रसरे। बर्हि
षिवा। यदृच्छानः। वेदोपयामश्वनुवर्त्तता। द्वंवी। षीति। उक्त्यति। मध्ये वेदसादनं नाव
रीयकत्वा। दन्वाचयेमवा। साम। श्याक्त्वा। अत्रेण क्त्वा। पुरस्तादक्रवायाः। उत
रेण क्त्वा। माज्यस्थाली। क्रवाया। मुत्तरतः। आज्याधानपात्री। अपरेण स्क्रुगदं पात्री। ५०

पुरोडाशपात्री

शडाशावित्यर्थः। दक्षिणस्थो वेदिश्रोतो वेदिजं ब्राह्मणं। उक्तं तस्योप्रातर्द्वेहं सादयतीति
 आशि त्रहदरेणोपात्रो रदविष्णानुपसादनं वेदिव ह्यसंनिहितस्त्वन स्याद्विशिष्टवा
 दत्रेण क्रवामिति स्त्वन न शेषो वाचनिकः। वेदिं शृणु बर्दिषा केनापि वेदिर्धेदिर्न ह्येते
 न तस्मीपलाक्षणिकं। अस्ति मुदद्यत्र यो गो वेद्यां हविष्या न सादयतीति। अत्र न धि
 अधिउपरिष्टेऽस्मात्सृणन् अयद्यथा अक्षिस्मृगादी न सृणन्। अत्र न पक्षादयः। अत्र तान्म
 ध्यां सृणन्। एतौ वेद्यां तच्चातत्र तानिति ब्रूवचनं पठंति। यद्येवेदिप्राप्तान व सृणन्ति
 पश्चात्तद्वेत्तं वेदः। पश्चादर्थः-----उक्तं ततो गार्हपत्यस्य भद्रधत्तुर्दक्षिणश्रोत्रोऽपि
 इत्युप सृष्ट्युप उदकमुपाजभ्याः श्राज्या निवृत्तुर्नदीतानि ब्रूवचनं प्रसिद्धे। अत्र
 वादीनि वा। चातुर्मास्यां दोतकृष्णदित्रिंशत्संमृशतिसं सृष्ट्याति द्विरुच्चारः
 = एं। स्विष्टाचारः १

सारांशं॥ छ॥ दोतयं विदोतयं स्यात्वेदिकं कर्म तस्मिन् न वस्ति ते प्राप्नुरेव वस्ति ते स
 ति॥ अग्रये अग्नि उक्ता प्रेषा॥ प्रणवे प्रणववर्त्तमाने उच्चार्यमाणे॥ समिधं काष्ठिका मा
 दध्राति॥ नो॥ समिधमिति त्रादेशमात्रापि स्यात्॥ द्विप्रवे शास्त्रावेष्टा वविकृत्येन वा
 आनुयाजिके॥ न चानुयाजिक्याः॥ प्रणवकानावाता॥ आनुयाजिके समिधमादोयेति
 वक्ष्यमाणवात्प्रमेव॥ शिष्टं चोसत्थं उक्तमेप्रणवेऽस्य त्रयासमिधा॥ सदशष्टमन्य
 त्समिधमिधं समिष्टयाजुषायावत्यर्घ्यासि॥ अदध्यादिति विधानार्थं नानुयाजि
 के॥ शिष्टैत्यनुवादाः॥ अत्रानुयाजिकि बर्जमधिकामिधं॥ ततोऽस्वयेत् प्रक्षिपेदेवापञ्च
 सोमेषु बहुलं ताराहोरात्रपयसि॥ प्रोक्ष्य॥ अदधिकाऽध्याकर्म विशेषनियम्यमानो
 दृश्यते॥ दधमयूषानुपसन्न ह्यप रिधीनू बल्वज्रनिति॥ अष्टादशदारुन्योऽप्योऽतिरिक्त

५ धोस्तिवित्ततौ। विशेष नित्य मान्नं नातिरेचये। दानु या जिकी न पुनरातिश्रमाया
 मतिरवतोऽननु या जसुतस्याऽनं न दना। दुपसद्यत्तराघारा नु या जस मिधेति
 वा। इधमसेन दनं शुल्भे। एकत्रं शि एक सं दश सं मां जे हो नु स्वा दवनी य यो स नू मा
 मं करोति। आ नु दा सु देव ता स्व फु। आ वा दित्ता सु देव ता सु ऋ प उ प स्पृ श्य। त दु प
 नो। वं द्य त्र सं मा ज्जनं च। त्रि रू प वा जय ति। वो वि धू न ने जु क्। वे दो त्र ध वि त्रं। पू
 स्त व स्य ध्रु वा व नी त स्य ध्रौ व स्य त्यष्टुः। वे दो प या मा। इ त्या घा र धर्मः कर्त्तु ए। उ
 रं पं रि धि सं धिं सं धिं स्पृ शी यि च्चा स्तु वे ले ति ग म्य तो इ त र था स्पृ ष्टे ति स्या। उ त रां
 हित स्य धम दारु ए इ त्यष्टुः। ए त स्मा दनु व च ना इ त रां हे त द स्यां धी य ते। ह्य ल ति जु
 ति। न्म्या हिते ह्य ल ति। य द्वा ऋ न्या हित स्य ह्य ल नि दे शे। उ त रां हे क ज ती ति। आ ष

३३ वि

रसमिधमा दधातीति वचनात्संपातेन क्रवयो संपातेन संस्क्रवेणेन क्रवां क्रौवां तात्पर्यात्
 नृपाय्यसबधयथा स्खानंदक्षिणैस्तुक्राः स्क्रवं निदधाति वेदां च त्रेण क्रवां नृमी
 तपरिधीना त्रेष्यत्याद्रीध्रं मंत्राष्टीतस्त्रिरित्याभ्यामोनुवादः सत्तुक्तेऽपि सुवावीसाथीसि
 द्वेऽप्राद्रीध्रः संमात्रं स्फुत्तुपरं द्वितीयां ते वा स्फुराष्टौत्रायथापरिदितं परिधीनुष्टुष्टु
 लोमामनुकूलामूलनादाभ्यात्रैयावसंमाष्टिः स्फुरसंमात्रमिमां पावयतीत्यर्थः कृते स्फु
 तां केवलानेव सुसाम्प्रणिनिमुपाद्विपनुपद्वा निवात्री न्वाचारान्समुमाष्टिसमस्त
 पावयतीत्यर्थः अष्टपद्वत्कृत्वा नोपाणी लृक्वाकाः पूर्वे चंद्रमसीत्येतवमोक्षमास्याविश
 षणं पीसीमासीविशेषांतं चाशिरस्पष्टसूचकप्रयोगउपपूर्वस्य वसे नियतजो जनोचं प्र
 यणं कोपवसेदिति लोकेऽपि दृश्यते। मायादिवर्जनात्मावस्ययेऽपि घटिष्यतोततश्च न वि

देवताग्रहणे विस्मोमादौ प्रवर्तते । सोमाग्रं तादिते नाभिगृह्यते सवदेवताः । अष्टानां देवतास्तत्र गृह्यते न्यायविना ॥८॥

नेक्षोत्रउपवासस्य चोर्जने । अटर्षनिनामा वास्यां चंद्रे चंद्रमयौ शुक्लसमास्नेदमाग्नि
त्यपोल्लमास्यमावास्ययोः । अरोजीसौपकारी स्यादुपवासविधिस्तथा । यदितनामध्ये
दिपोर्लमास्यमपि गृह्यते । अवास्यावोपवसथा तदा स्यात्समवायकलक्षणापिनहुं
मह्यं कुर्यात् । विशेषां छितीयां तं विप्रैश्चैत्रपदैस्मिन् घटं तं तराएव अमावास्यामिति
वर्त्तमानावास्यायां तबाधैकं उपवस्य शानमस्य किंतु वद्वयमाणाधिका रादिस विषय
यमिथे तत्तदचैष्यं मनीषिभिः । ऊर्द्धाच्च पितृष्टं तोऽसिद्धि वचनं प्रद्ववारणा तपुरस्ता
अदणंचापि दक्षिणादिनिष्प्रायणा । ममाग्न इति चोदेत बह्वुलुहा दशा किं कै नृक्षीमपर
यो एतस्वशास्वोक्तं समाश्रितं पदवतापरि अद्गुणमिन्वाधाने यदप्यते राजयद्मद
दीतोष्टौ पुनरन्वाहितं च वै तद्भ्रष्टाग्निं अहणाथैव व्रतवस्यात् प्रसंगतः । इष्टीनां दत्ता

न्निति अहणंध

सूत्रग्रहं ते। त्रयं विमतिप्रतीष्टिकाद्यं सोमे पिचुत्तं यदिस तं प्रमाः न चाधानं यतः सोमे
 नातिदृष्टान्नचोदितं। पिचुत्तं यदिस च स्यादुद्योभवे तत्र तो पायनोपस्थाने मंत्रस्य
 त्रैण साधयेत्। संम्राडासीत्फपस्थानं द्यवास्ति तमिहो द्यौते वासा। संवेशेनो काले तत्कथं
 धान्यनो जने। यस्य च षडतिस्तत्र मारणस्य निषेधकं। प्रठता वसं न वान्नशरद्या आयुषं
 वेत तस्येदुदुद विषोन्नविजातीयं निवर्जयेत्। शयनं ब्रह्मचर्येण नृभ्यामग्निसमीपतः।
 मद्याः कालं सुषुप्ते तया द्विनोद्योपवतस्त्विक्। ईयं व इति मंत्रेण पृथिवीस्मरणे प्रतिम
 न साध्या न वचनममंत्राद्य विदेत्। दद्विरन्नस्य निर्वीप्य क्रिया माणेन वीस्रया पश्चि
 हां तादवास्या संगतिं संनिधानतः। स्पाकुत्यनुमंत्रेण दौसमका हर्षयेत्। एव काः स्पापोहो
 त्रीरपकुतैकुवेऽवष्टयेज ह्येतो तदसन्नाहवनीयो सौः ततो होतत्र केवलं। स्पादिनोत्तर

स्वेतिपदिनाषायदिस्त्रिशङ्गं तादनुवाकस्येतिपुनरुक्तैरनर्थताचनुदेत्रिऋजिस्पृश्य
 विदुद्योनपुनः स्पृशेत्कोदनापूर्वायोर्भेदात्तद्विशंगप्रधानिकं ऋजिमृश्येद्वद्विणं प्राक्ते
 नोद्यो वंतयोत्तरांतथाज्यानिक्रमात्पश्चाद्द्विःसामान्यवोदनात्समुच्चितं विवेद्यं हिना
 रण्यदयोदुतं ऋग्रेण स्रच इत्येतद्वितीयायां बहुष्विदः। ऋचं जलोवदनादाय निप्रतीया
 ते। पुनरादानवचनादनुयाजेष्विवद्वयोः। पूर्वकल्पनिरासाद्यमपि वेति हिस्सत्रितं। अन्यत्राद्य
 पिवाशब्दः। पूर्वत्रापरितोषतः। उक्तमंतत इति पूर्वकल्पे पितृव्यात्। ऋयाजमाने प्रप्यमः
 षंडः समाप्तः॥ ऋग्निद्युश्चतुर्दिषुः सुगमं देवाः प्राज्यमागातिर्यकेपि संज्ञाशब्दो
 नवद्धते प्रवानकरणी----- निदेव तास्तथा स्विष्टहंतो यागे प्रक्षिन्नेवानुमंत्रणे। लु
 चैरितिपदस्यात्मायउपपन्नसन्निधौ॥ ऋ॥ दशाहो॥ क॥ सोमस्याहं देवज्पायाविश्वं रेतो धे

वीयेत्यादीनिजिङ्गक्रमाभ्योपनीसंथाजानुमंत्रणनीतिगम्यते। सावित्रीयाज्ञेष्टोतत्रिनो
 त्तंप्रकरणतु अथ्यत्रापिचक्षादीनोसोमादीनांचेत्यादिनोबानुमंत्रणमिनेयद्यास्फत्रिति
 । क्वाऽडास्मा॥ चिदस्मिनासिधीरसीस्यादितिवित्युच्चैरित्यकारणंमंत्रनिंगतच्छाया
 सरस्वती॥ क॥ दक्षिणात्रोसारस्वतहोमकाहेमुखनिमार्जनंनिंगतनिर्दिष्टंमितिषेदं
 स्त्रीयमाणंननुस्त्रीसंशानवनिर्देशात्। संयद्गपतिः। अत्यन्तविधाशिल्लेवात्सत्रस्थपुनस
 त्तजानास्तिथदिप्रवत्सस्मिष्ठयजुषासंदेतिध्रुवात्रोवस्वाशुजुक्त्यात्तनेवमंत्रेण
 तदुक्तंअभापुवयद्गुप्रतिष्ठापयतीति। पश्चाद्देदेरित्यवयवषष्ठीपश्चादित्यवयवेषधि
 करणं। प्राच्यादिशादेवाप्रणीतास्त्वयिः। अक्लिन्नमाश्वेचनं। अर्घ्यगृहीतं। प्राच्यादिशादि
 लुनितयनार्थमंत्रमित्यर्थः। सखद्रवनिनीतानामंत्रणं। यदस्तु। अतुमंत्रितानिमुर्वैष्टुष्टोत्र

एतीति मंत्रं त्रिंशत् गम्यते । दक्षिणा दक्षिणा भिर्वेदिचां तराप्राचीना विस्तुत्रमाक्रमति
 इतरथा दक्षिणे न विहारं स्यात् । यद्वा वेदिपत्रिच्छिन्ने दक्षिणा स्मिद्देवे विस्तुत्रमाक्रमते न दक्षि
 णास्मिन्नाद्यावधानः । अथ नावादि रिति पूर्ववत् ॥ छ । इदमहमुद्यथा ॥ छ । इत्सीमिति ना
 मग्रहणं वा मंत्रकं वा पा स्यादिति । सद्यमत्र सद्यः मनु । अनुलक्षणावति तेजो सीत्याहुवप्रश्ने
 गृह्यत इति । अस्मौ देवदत्तोऽनुमात्तु । होचेत्तुष्टौ । अत्र नृत्ति । छंदं क्वा यज्ञदत्तविस्तु
 मित्रौऽनुमात्तुती । एवं ब्रह्ममीदव यदत्तयज्ञदत्तविस्तु मित्राऽनुमात्तु तन्मति
 मोक्षे मंत्राणां मधेयी । ये देवा यज्ञहन्त तत्पुनरेन यथा निनेन गा हंपत्या दिनुपतिष्ठते ।
 अने प्रतपते विव्रत विमोक मंत्रः । लिं गा तूनमैधानेऽज्ञादिकमीलित्वा एदेवोऽशटनिर्दे
 शः । शुद्धं समिक्षा दधाति यज्ञो बभूवेति । मंत्राणे मयोऽनुनः । शोऽन्योऽनुव लंबं आशीः

प्राच्यनेचामंत्रलिंगात्। गोमं अत्रो इति श्रुत्वा हवनीयात्। प्राहुः इति शं योऽस्व शाखोक्तमप्राप्तं
 शयं तास्य कवस्थितं। इडां तान्मुनः। गोस्त्याता नोक्तं महर्षिणा। सान्नाज्या नक्षत्रेण नात्र ब्राह्म
 णाच्छिजे न वै तायजमानयदं चान्नयन्विद्याति विचारणं। प्राशानं ब्राह्मणस्यैव ननु राज्ञ्य
 वैश्ययोः सौमसं यन्निवाद्धि ननु सौमन्यो न वै तूना गानावाहिसानायप्रप्रतिषेधोऽस्ति न
 प्रति। तस्मात्तैश्चेत्तु नो हेसिनायमनक्षत्रेण॥ क॥ श्रीकृष्णमारुते कल्पना ष्वेयसजमानं समा
 प्र॥ क॥ अग्नीनादधीतवसंते ब्राह्मणे श्रीकृष्णराजन्त्यां शरद्वैष्णवसंतादिका लं
 ब्रह्मणदिषु। आघानोत्पत्तिकर्तृकाश्च यः॥ एवं नक्षत्रादधानेपि वसंतादीनां नक्षत्रा
 दिभिः समुच्चयः। वसंतादीनां मुखपत्तिशिष्टत्वात्। येषां तु यएव विद्वानग्निमाधु तत्तत्पा
 धानोत्पत्तिस्तेषां वसंतादिकाले नियमाशीस्तन्त्यद्वैतिकायाधानं विनापि न संतादि

किं स्यात्तथा वसंतादिषु विनापि तत्रिकादिभिरिति तु ल्यबलानां विकल्पाधिगमात् ।
 अस्मिन् चैषाद्रस्याधानं प्राप्नोति । तदुपनयनाभावाद्विरुद्धत्वां न्नवतिथ्यएतं विधानात्र
 मादाहेतुतदधीतवेदस्याधिकाशतं अग्नी निति गार्हपत्यादीनृपंचाभिप्रेत्योक्तं पंचसुद्धि
 स्तेषु स्थापनकालेऽप्यादधातिनाथो गार्हा॥ शिरं सर्वेषां पूर्वविध्वज्जोऽनेन शिशिरवि
 धिना विकल्पं ताः प्रियमस्य तपस्तिराधानस्य शर्वीविकल्पेन नियं इत्यनेन पूर्वनिश्चये
 र्विकल्पे सोमै नयक्षमा एस्य त्वेति नियमं पूर्वापवादोऽप्यत्र नियमोऽनादर इत्यर्थः । न
 द्रवैर्वक्ष्यमाणपवादोऽप्येव कारात्तथैवावित्यमं सोमै नयक्षमा एस्य अत्रिष्टोमे न
 वसंत इति सोमकालस्यापि बाधोत्रयक्षमा ए इत्यद्यतनी प्रयो गार्हात् पूर्वणी सुत्याका
 लस्य नियमो नास्ति । उपसकालवदवांतरचात् एतस्मादेवाद्यातनी अत्र वार्हात् तत्र अग्राध्या

की नमं तं दीक्षेत् । एवं च बुद्धं ऋतं सोमाधानेऽप्यधेयी किनामते ऐन्द्राग्नेनानुसृष्टं
 नष्टादीक्षेत् । आहिताग्निवस्य निमित्तस्याब्जा तत्त्वादिति तदुक्तं न ह्यग्नीषोमीयेन
 साक्षात्प्राज्ञैर्जग्द्वस्य निमित्तं । केचित्पुनर्वतीति वदतः । ये उपपत्तिं तेषां मयमभिप्रायः
 । आहिताग्निस्तु सृष्टेनाधि क्रियुते । बद्धमाणेन च नाहिताग्निः । स हि सकलसोमपानं
 संभारसंपन्नं सोमं धिकारं प्रतिपद्येत । आधानादाहवनीयाद्यग्नीनां जिह्वीषुराधाने प्र
 वर्जते । तत्राद्यतनं प्रत्यातस्मिन्नेवाहं निदीक्षुः । यदहं दीक्षिष्यमाणस्यात्तदहं दधीते
 ति वञ्चते । न तस्मिन्नुत हि प्रबुद्धस्य लंभः । आहिताग्निदीक्षिष्यमाणेन निमित्तेन
 संतिपत्तिः । तदतिमितं तद्विद्यतस्येति न ह्येतरेण कालेनाधाने प्रयोदीक्षणीया संभवति ॥ ५६ ॥
 परतंत्रैश्चतुष्टयपतितः प्रसंज्ञो यजि विदीक्षणीयाद्यं पशुकं तंत्रमा लज्जमानो मीषो म
 सि

नि

तद्यन्तेष्वस्तु नीरुणमास एवेति श्रुत्याप

यं यावत्प्रतीक्षते परतंत्रौ यजाता न्नैमित्तिकानि प्रसंगी पृजनीवीनिदिदृष्टानि वैत्रियादी
 मीति। येन न पठेति यद्युत्तुष्टेनेत्यादितेषां नैव सौमाधाने विच्छिन्नसौमपीष्टस्याधिका
 शस्ति प्रेतः। अधिकारापत्तिहेतुत्वात्। दत्तुमष्टस्य न्यूनधिकारिलोदीक्षास्ति। सांज्ञे च प्र
 भवेऽधिक्रियते। प्रधाने धित्तत्त्वात्। धिक्कारात्। कालानुन्यां ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतौ श्रुतमाधाना
 सत्वं। नैदृश्येते न फौल्ये नीपो र्समा स एवेति श्रुत्या राजन्यवैश्ययोरापि सिद्धं। कृपे गज्जल
 वत्पात्रान्यामितिसप्तमी। जानपुत्रः। अग्नीनादधीतेति शेषः। अविद्यामानपुत्रस्याधाने
 नाधिकारं सूचयति। यद्यपुत्रः। प्रथमायां चित्पात्रित्कत्वेनेत्यां तौ नोत्तरकाले यस्य तद
 निप्रायां अन्ये तु जानपुत्र इति सैदेति दृष्ट्यर्थं। किं दत्ति। तष्ट्यावपयं धबधिरुर्ध्वकुलिप्रत्यवा
 । यिज्जन्त्रियशूद्रवर्जमिति श्रुत्वा न्यायविदुश्च पूर्वं च जातपुत्रो जातापत्यमात्र

氣

४३

सप्तःसन्निनष्टप्रधानो ३

इत्थं श्रीः कथं तदिन्द्रो मा पौष्टं न पुनैः ७ स क मालने तपंड कठियज ये दितैः स दोषः
 संतिषि क्रिस्मि यं लु या गस्त हिष यमे तत्ते षा ज क णं वै द्य श्वर का दिज्ञा ब्राधनं क चास्मै
 मा वौष्ठा दि कार्यं ना चि क्रिस्मै यो जे दत्तु धि कारा स्त्रि क्रिस्मै भूता यत्प तु ज्यत्वा द धि क्रिस्मै तो तया
 हि यत्र उभ्रम र्जये ते त्फ प क्र म्पा ता द वा स्मा ईंद्रियं वी मा न्ना द धा ती ति चि क्रिस्मै द श्रिय ति
 यो लं प्र जये सं न्नि ति चि र जा त पु त्र आ हि ते ष त्रि षु य स्र पंड ग स्मै त्कना पि नि मि त्ते न स्या
 स स्मै मा यौ स्ता मा ल्य स्पृते ब्राह्मणः त्ति का स्वा ब्राह्मण ए प्र ङ्ग त्ति का स्वि ते न तु ब्राह्मण
 त्ति का स्त्रे वा बहुत्वा धा द त्थ बाध स्मै गरी य रत्ना त् अ ल्या क त्तिका स्त तः रा ज न्य वै
 श्व बाधः रो दि एषा द्री नि ब्राह्मण स्य ब द्ध नि बाधे ता रो दि ली फा र्नु न्य श्चि त्रे त्पा प्सु
 कामो रो दि एषा र्स्व र्ग का मश्चा आट व सै वां श्चि त्रा यां न ग य त्रा द्य - कामः १८ र्व का लु नी लु

कैः

प्रजादानकामउत्तरामुफालुनीषु मृगशिरस्यादधीतशांस्वांतरमेतत्तृतयापुनर्वस्वो
पापीयानयः पूर्वसमृद्धश्चासीत्पश्चादुग्र्येतः सपुनर्वस्वो राटध्यात्विशाखयोः प्रजाति
प्रजुह्वेतं प्रजोपादनक्षमताः अनुराधासुत्रक्षिप्सं यौकानामर्थानां शोहिणादीनां ब्रजा
पातवी एतौ स्तनाविति श्रुतेः । यस्तु प्रतिषेद्धिप्रधातं वक्ष्यति उत्तराममावास्यामुपवसेदि
ति यौधेयैः । आहरति स्म न वेयद्वे क्रियादिनां चेन्न दृश्येत । तदा देवोऽंशे तिले दनं ब्रह्मं जीता
प्येतानां स्तिष्ठदतो दिंसाः परणी इति साहित्यमविवक्षितं । नैके कस्यामं त्रेण हुरां इत
रथा यथा पूर्वपुनस्स स्कारणामेकस्यां न स्यां एकस्यामपि नष्टायामितरस्यास्त्यागोद
क्षिणाभ्यादि स्यानाष्टागार्दपत्यस्यैव महाधानात् । न च साहित्यैरि न्याजो दोषा उच्चारणो च नि
०
तद्विकल्पते तेन शास्वांतरं ब्राह्मणपुनरेकवाक्यताप्रतिपदः समावास्या शब्दस्यात्र सिद्धस्तस्यामुप
सिद्धिर्ब्रह्म

तार्थं न चैकस्यापि नित्यमेतद्वैः अरणी नित्यमतोयाज्यादिना लक्ष्येतेनाचोक्तस्मिन्नदनिष
 तश्चाह तयोऽपवाक्रियादिना पुनर्मीत्रण संस्काराप्रमाहरणं यथा लौकिकेन वाक्येन रुचि
 ज्ञः पूर्ववृत्तायश्चास्य मंत्रवर्सेन संस्तु कृते एवंचलौकिकवाक्यवृत्ताधुर्यहरणहरणं
 यन्मंत्रवरणं तु प्रागग्निरुवा तत्तु वागं प्रष्टव्यग्नवरणं प्रधानां प्रोद्वातेर्ज्ञेयं गानि
 कर्तव्या न्यंगानां प्रधानाद्युद्वाते तत्तस्यैकैकस्य बहिरुविना दस्य त्प्रजायुर्भधिरुवा
 अतो मंत्रविंशादाहरणमधुर्योऽपि रवा पर्णोऽसौ भिकप र्वा एणेदं तधावनं स्यात्तन्मा
 भदिति यथा न्योम इति लघुतरं न स्तत्रितं अलुत्यादतक्षो भोजनं तदति यन्ययेदं द्वि
 पालिग्रहणादिसहस्रं धर्मोच्चित्वादिस्मृतेऽतथा हि दौमवमनत्रियमविधानपारवाक्ये स्मृ
 तिविहितं पन्यधिकारं अतिरुवदति चोमवयानौ अजिमादधीयाता भित्तिद्विवचनेनेति

उपवस्यतोशननुपवस्यशानं यथादशमिमासयोऽरिबहुवर्षततानान्यन्माषेभ्य इति
सहाधिकरणीः प्रशानद्विर्नक्षत्रे सर्वत्र इत्यर्थः प्राचीनप्रवणुदितोदिशुदशकयद्वा
केयौः अग्नि संस्कारः प्राचीनप्रवणुदिवनुर्विशोऽनुलगान्नखरखलक्षणेननुसञ्चयुनेषा
येपाकयद्वाभावात्तस्मिन्नौपासनीयं ब्राह्मोदनीकमादधातिशालाजितस्मिन्निति
अल्पनुविधानं नक्षत्रस्य प्रवणुदितस्मिन्नेवाग्निस्त्वापनस्यादतएवर्तुपासनीयस्य शब्द
वक्त्रत्पलस्य मनुविधायतस्यास्मिन् प्रवणुदितसिद्धतात्शालाजिशब्दस्वशास्त्रसिद्धि
तद्वास्यानार्थस्तत्रितौ नयथादर्भमयं विप्रमित्फक्कात्रिणुणभूतुदिति वा स्यातं त
परियजमान इत्युक्त्वा दैवमं सपिबिपयस्तमित्तिवा स्यातं उपायने नृदं नय्यवातं नि
मित्तेऽग्निशौपायनीय एवं शाब्दोयः शालाजिच्छर्भहादिकं त्रै तपिताशालाजिच्छर्भोति

त्पादिदेशिकोपस्थिततादात्म्येऽन्यत्रततः। अत्रेतेष्वपि तदीति वक्ष्यमाणधर्मेणैव यदि प्रतिक्रियते
 तु न यमपि नृस्यते। विशेषणानुपादानात्प्रत्यये यमैवायनीयो वा एवौ न्निर्दिष्टा वसथ्य इत्यनुग्र
 देषु सङ्गासङ्गपर्वति। तेषां मते पुनराधानमेव स्यादस्मिन्दिताग्रे वा वसथ्यसङ्गावातसं
 तपूर्वमावसथ्यमिति वचनादनादिताग्रेषु शालान्निःसचो न यविकेऽपि सामान्यशब्देन स्त
 त्रेणुपातः तस्या तृणालान्निः। ननु कास्वोतरे शालान्निरावसथ्योप्यद्योतेऽज्ञावसथ्येभ्यः
 धाँरकाल इति सत्यं। किंतु। संज्ञास्वशास्त्रे संज्ञावक्ष्यते। स्वशास्त्रे च सत्यात्त्य
 ज्ञाधीयते तस्यैवावसथ्यशब्दो जेतो दृष्टते। न शालान्निः। संज्ञोच्चरिता संज्ञिनं प्रत्याव
 तीति कुं पास्सनीय इति संज्ञाः। संज्ञी तु श्रौतः प्रावसथ्यः। अतश्चैतदुद्योत संज्ञां विधाव
 एव न प्रतिलेखेति। आनि पूर्वकाश्च प्रतिलेखे धातवंतीति प्राप्तिश्च शालान्निपयार्थे यच्च न

पाकयद्रसाहचर्यानि आवस्येप्येव न निषिद्धमानमर्थां निरुद्धवन्निरेकुतेष्वेवं बुद्ध्यातं भव
 तिव दितहेति छात्राभि विषयं स्यात्तदुच्यते नाप्यकारोपेति स्वतन्त्रं कपटमत्तदलातलि
 र्विनोऽन्तरस्थे तस्मिन् पचननिषेधे स्वकीये सति च्युत्तनाशयकारालौ किका ग्नौ पचनमा
 कुत न हि रुक्मं तु पुन ग्लौ किके पचनं ते त्रिरीयके दर्शनादिति वचीय नान हि ते त्रिरीयके लो
 किके पचनमस्ति अस्ति च तत्रातु प्रविष्टो गार्दपत्ये शात्राभि ब्रह्मोदन समये यस्या हितो नो
 तस्य शात्राग्न्यभावात्तौ किके पचनं न च सर्वस्य कस्यचित् एव तद्दृष्ट्वै मादित्ताग्नि विषय
 यमेतदितरथा मूढनिश्चितं स्यात् अतएव भाष्यं तरेपिन लिखितं तत्र हि दृष्टम्योऽसंकर्षो
 लौकिकोऽग्निः पचनार्थे नित्यं वा यं तु कथं सर्वमनीषिकया अलग्नमिति सूत्रं वाच्यं कथ्यते न
 निर्भयं वा असद्यो मयि तोऽग्नि निर्मथ इत्युक्तः विकल्पः पूर्वोक्तोऽप्यबाहौ वा तु ल्यबलं शु
 ब्रवातः

विधिर्नखेधयोः श्रुतौ दर्शनात् तृष्णादियोवाः प्रमयायं मनुष्यो मिरित्यादिना शाला निब्रह्मे
 दनिका विक्षिता यष्टिषा नमस्ती नृते नात दाहुः स वीप्रित्यादिना निषिद्धो न त्रैवं कर्तव्या
 इतीत्यंतेन विकल्पे द्याख्या यन्नास्म एषा पृका स्त्रत्रे एण्येतन्मूलो विकल्पस्तस्मिन्नो
 पासनीयं ब्रह्मोदनीकमादधाति शालानि निमंष्टुं वैतितं त्रैपवितका तन्निर्मयस्तुशा
 जाय्यरण्यो स्याद न्ययो वी ब्रह्मोदनिक इति संज्ञार्थं उच्यते च त्रिब्रह्मोद निक इति
 व्यवहारः प्राग निदवादाः अध्वर्युर्ब्रह्मोदोदुजात्रा न्री धापं व विंसी मंत्रैः सोमि कैर्ह
 णीत ब्रह्माण्डं दर्शयौर्मासिके न १५ ष्ट्यष्टिं जातवराणस्य होतृसाहचर्याष्टि द्यष्टि चो न
 द्दुहेतुः किंचिदाधाने कर्तव्यमस्ति यदष्टं धरणं स्या न च ब्रह्मोद प्राशनाय विरणं तस्य
 हि संस्कारत्वात् प्राशने न हि संस्क्रुतो ह्यता इष्टिषूपक्यार्थात् सकृच्च वरणं सांगप्रधाना

र्थं च तत्वरणस्य तस्मात्तत्कृपत इति ब्रह्मवयं ननु पाठाद्वैततत्प्रागभिदूवात् एवं तद्विप्रा
 गग्रदण्डपसमाधाय यथुह्यपरिस्त्रीयज्यादिसंस्कृत्याङ्गाङ्गातः प्राट्टिगुवरणं नैय
 मांश्चित्रवेधसे। अत्रिषाष्टादशिममिनु दोतीत्यथेडिप्रिदोमेनामिषुपम्कु रूत इति यावत्
 सक्तुत्तदीतेन दोमानादेशादिति मूत्रविदश्चतुर्द्वीतेनोतकेवित्प्रमिस्त्रिगेनशो
 विषेत्यादिषु मूत्रेषु चतुर्द्वीतत्रदणनिविधेयानीतरेषांपुनरुक्ता निततपरिद्वारने
 मबहुलैषांयत्तु सक्तदवत्तुदोतीत्यवदानंतत्रग्रहणपरानुष्ठानात्तुल्यया राष्ट्रन्तता
 दिसुयथासंस्थमाहुतिमिर्जहणानीति गमनादेशो सक्ततुद्रदणस्य॥ क्ख। ब. उ. श. शवं
 चत्वारः शशैवापदिमाणेऽत्रस्यनिर्वपस्येति तद्वि. ताष्टेत्पादिनाममाभाः सोदितैरक्तैः प्रा
 षंस्तुष्टुपर्वमन्त्रं स्यादवदानंततेपिवाज्यायः स्विष्टकृच्छ्रद्व्यह्वरं तुल्यं ज संमिती। आस्यमात्रं न वेद्विद्वान् आश्रयं ग्रामच
 । उ. अ. ए. तत्सदंतकारः स उच्यते। अत्रिषाष्टुल्लग्नं वा पूर्वद्वीचतुर्गुणं नैतद्विषुणं शशवः पात्रं च वा ॥ ८

नहुं हंसमर्धबलीबद्धचेर्मणि लोमोपलक्षिते प्रदेशे निरुद्य मासोपलक्षिते लुत्स्वलेन
 खाऽवहन्ति अष्टवर्चादग्निष्वपवित्रस्याग्नेो दणानि न स्फुरैस्ते त्रिषीयके तु मंत्रवत्सर्वम
 जिः। आसुरेभ्यो बोलुपुं निर्विपासीत्येवंऽस्वद्यातद्वारकमेति लुत्स्वलादः। ओङ्कारं यदि
 स्मरन्मंत्रवत्तदा स्यात्तस्मीकिं प्रमाणे उपकल्प्य न मात्रमुलुत्स्वतु स लसूप्पीजिनानां न
 उाह्ये प्रयोगादिर्मंत्रप्रसंगः। ननु आसुरेभ्यो जीवतं हुलमि कोपहरेदिति यागवोर्य
 नादिः। किञ्च दानमिदं न ह्यत्र ब्राह्मणे दैशेन द्रव्याग्राह्ये भूतेष्वप्यवदीयते। तदेव ता
 पितरभ्यो दिप्रपते। सत्यपि वायागवैष्टदमेधीयवदकर्म स्यात्। तदा इह हविर्निवृत्त ए
 लुकोऽस्ति। नृहमेधीयेषु न विद्यते। अपणवो दृनात्तद्विः। तदा हानं च लुप्यते। निशायां नि
 शाग्रहणमपराक्क प्रस्तावाजीवतं हुलशब्दं दमविशेषणं। सा मा नाधिकं रणपाताप

२. निरुद्धं विभक्तं दृष्टं त्रयः प्रादोऽष्टासंमिताः॥ इध्मास्तु द्विसुणः कार्यस्त्रिसुणः परिधिसुणः स्मार्त्तप्रादेशा इध्मो दाहि
 एऽपरिधिसुणः॥—

श्रुतमिति त्रियमार्थं घृतेनालुतस्तेनाद्यते नेत्कतपवनं न स्यादेकवाक्ये विधानादित्यनु
 भुत्प्रतानेत्फक्त॥ सुत्पवनं तु दन्ताभ्यां त्रिःपरिधिसुणः तं तु तत्तत्तद्व्यासनात्पवित्रं तद्विहिते
 ऽप इत्पादिनञ्बति। पञ्चमन्येऽस्य त्रैक्यं संपाद्या। आकृतिवचनचार्थं ध्रुवदेवस्य त्रिसु
 न्नं ब्रह्म धृतं ब्रह्मिण्यास्मिन्। समीपतस्तच्चित्तोवक्ष्यमाणः। अत्रा - धेयशब्दः प्रथमराध्यायेष्टा
 ख्यातो। न ये सप्तभूय इत्यादौ दृष्टत इति दृष्टत्वात्तु पपन्नैः। कालानस्यादस्मिन्वाकालावृष्ण
 ते। प्रागज्जिदवाहेति वरुणकालेन द्रव्यत उद्धरणक्यद्दूरनादिष्वेव काले क्रियो मधुगुहेव ऊ
 र्व्येन सर्वेषु पृथुपविशोतीति। ब्रह्मवचनमतं त्रैलोक्यवाष्टि। दक्षिणतो ब्रह्माह्वातान्ना
 नाधुयुधस्थादिदिशि क्रम एपि ढानदाप्येऽनीनि ब्रह्मचं ब्रह्मो ब्रह्मायै वैवृत्तिनिवः। स
 प्विबिन्तते परिद्विष्टा वस्तु एततो देशो तं रंश्येत्कपस्य त्रितो पश्चात्। ववता। तेऽप्योद्यन्तु। त्रि

३

३

अः प्राप्ति तो दने न्यो धेनुं वो द दामी ति वाच्य त्वे त्प स्या ॥ चित्पे न्नौ न व श्रे त्प ॥ चित्प स्या ॥ अच य नं वे
 त्य क्र म इ ति प्र सिद्धे र्व मी सि सं चितान्तर मि त्य नि धी य ते स्ति नि फ ल व तीः ॥ अं ऊ र व ती र्वा प य स्
 वि व र्त्त यि वा स्था हा स्वा हा का रा ते तु हो ति वि धी य ते ग य त्री नि ब्र ह्मि ए स्य ॥ अ बो धा नि
 शि त्रै ति ह्मि नी रा ज न्य स्य स्वा हा का रा ता नि दि ति व र्त्त ति ॥ ज न स्प गो या इ ति
 ज ग ती नि र्वै ष्य स्य स्वा दे ति र्द व त् अं ऊ र व ती र्वा हा नो न्न त र्वे र्व ब्रा ह्मो द नि क चै पि
 गार्ह्य क र्म प्राप्नो ती ति नि षि धा ते ॥ नि र्मे ष्य प दे च्छ नि त्या नु वा द ए व ॥ प्रा णेऽ सं स्का रा ति श
 या पि क्त्वा स्व त्प का ल बृ ह्म का ल यो र्वि क ल्पो न उ त्प ब ल ता सो मा धा नो उ ब्रा ह्मो द नि क स्यो
 सा द स्या त्सा म श ण्णा त ॥ प्र धा नो क र्ष त्र सं ग त्छु त्तं चै त ता सा म वि क्त त स्या धा नै धि का
 रा इ व ति वां ग प्र ध न का जा या वि रो धे इह का ल्प बा धा ॥ य त्रा धा न का लो बा धां ते त दं ग ह्म

स्यात्सर्जकालस्य तत्र का कयेति । तस्मान्मर्षपरिकल्पितैकादयेति अहं कं यस्य रात्र्याऽ
 त्मपि पक्षौ ब्रह्मवेत्तौ ब्रह्मैव सन्तौ दनस्य प्राप्ता नो तं तत्रावसंति श्वेच्छतु इत्यादौ अयं षष्ठ्यस्या
 रात्र्याऽतैक रात्रौ तस्यैव मन्वा मदेतद्यात्रिरात्रादित्यं त्याया मेव रात्र्यो जग रणमिति दानी
 उक्तं ब्रह्मैव दनिकस्यानियममाह । नास्या मिष्ट हादित्यादि ब्राह्मणानां शकारो नास्या
 त्रिमिति ब्रह्मैव दनिकमग्निद्या रद्या तं तं अन्त त वदन निषेधो यं क्रव ऐषिरुपाष्टस्य स्मृतौ
 निषिद्धं चान्त तश्चान्त वदनैश्चौ तं स्मार्त्तं ध्यायश्चित्तं । ननु क्रव यं दित्यं अस्तु कदिति त्रिषु
 धानेषु दोषा गादप्यस्य निषेधा भौ । इदं तु नैमित्तिकं अग्निं आग्निना धास्य आत्मनेपदा
 द्यजमानं पवसे तस्यः फाल्गुन्याः पौर्णमास्याः पौर्णमास्याः इति दीक्षिणीये वाहनिवाधास्य
 माने ग्रीष्मपवसे तौ पूवं पौर्णमासी श्वेत्तन्मना धास्यमान इत्यनित्तिष्ठत्वा दुते रभस्त्रा यमुक्तं
 यत्तत्तदुत्तशममावास्या । एतच्च शास्त्रोक्तं । पुरस्तात्तद्वत्तत्र च आधास्यमान इति

कर्मणि वा ।

संबंधः॥ सहस्रीनिर्दृष्टात्सवसनि संबंधेन नृवैतेति द्वितीया स्यात्तद्दमष्टनृद्यैते नृवस
कुच्यो न दृष्टस्यैस्समास्यमावास्यान्याः सदमान् नृदिति । श्वोऽमी नित्येनेमपुनरुक्त्यात् ।
अङ्गिर्मंशुनकाले पौर्णमास्येन दशत्रंचत्तिकादियदिसंभवेतुतदोपवसेदाधानस्याधिकर
णचैनक्तिकादीनां अत्वाद्गतवारिणः । ब्रतं ब्रह्मचर्यविश्यामं कत्रयजमानेन सदज्ञागार
एरात्रिवसंतीति । तत्र जाज्ञशैवासेवास्येति वासाधिकरणे वासे कीलेवाकज्जारवं कर्तु
रात्ता । शत्किं रशत्कैर्दिधाननश्रुतं करणविनक्त्या एव वनवस्या अरणीशकलानामिधा
नं प्रतिपत्तेरनवगमात् । प्रतिपत्तौ दिशत्कान्तावैदंधनलोपः स्यात्तस्मादिदंधनं शत्क्राष्टं
यजमानाय । यजमानस्य श्वो नृते एव प्रयच्छतीत्यदृष्टाष्टं मिहि विषयत्री । सप्रतिज्ञदौ । यं
संस्कारार्थः । प्रदानवतो नाशदोषे यद्यासुर्वपुनरयं मंत्रस्यात् । रुच्यीयवती । एतस्माद्
वमत्राणि गातृदं नि कशठमसदि म्रव को नृतप्रधानानामनधिकारस्तस्य ह्युद्योपधस्य

दक्षिणस्मिन्प्रदेशे ४

अक्षिण ए ५ द म द म न त स ल सु पौ नि म नु श्चा द्वै व मि ति प्र ति ज्ञा हा न्य य ज्ञो न्ते ते न द्वा य
ति ह्यर्थं य व प्र वा स सां प रा था ज्ञा वा ता द क्षि ण भे र रा णी ष्ठ प्र ग र णी स्था तां द क्षि ण भे र व
ग मा तु ते ए व वा यो गा दी ए त्प स्प ञ्ज र णी ञ्ज ह र ती त्या दौ द्वि व च नां तं पु ने रे व यो ज ना भे
द क्षि णै ति वि ले बि त वा त स्याः प्र ती तेः पूर् व म्प षा वा चं य द्वा त द क्षि ण भे र द्वि क्षि ण तो जे
रि त्प र्थः ञ्ज र णी प न्नी पा णो क्क रु ते प न्नी चे ति च का र लो पो ग म्य ते पा णो द स्तो वा ग्य तो य
त वा चो । इ त्स्या तं ब ड्ढ व्री हि नि धो न्न स्य द्वा र्वा नि पा ता त् क र्द के र णे द्वा ता ब ड्ढ ले मि ति त
पु रु ष स्त हि जा य त इ ति वि द्धि प न्या स द्वा धि का रं द शी यि त्तुं उ प क्क षं उ षः स मी य मु प क्क
षं । अ न सं ता न्ने पुं स का क्क द सी ति स मा सो तः उ प शब्दं वि द्धु र्वः नि ष्ठ प त्नी त्य ना श वं नि षे ध
त्वा त् । अ यं त यो ञ्ज र णं उ य रि ब्रा ह्मो द नि क म न्नि स मा रा प य ति अ धि स्था प य ति न क्क

अरणीदलेतेएवंअनुगमयेतिशीघ्रमनुगमिष्याम॥ नैतदस्तिउदुह्यनस्मगादप
 त्यायलक्षणेकरोतीतिवचनाध्वनक्षणेस्त्वानिबानुगमयोदितिगम्यातनचसंस्पर्शसिमा
 रोपणंअप्रमेदात्अप्रसिद्धेअसस्यशनिमरणीसंस्क्रियेतेसमारोपणेनचाग्निःपूर्वं
 तद्द्विअयंतेओनिदितिगंत्रकैरणंसमारोपणमज्जेः॥ यत्तत्ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यो नोअग्निःपि
 तदस्यादिमंत्रवर्षीधवगम्यते॥ यद्योक्तमिमासवाग्निमदात्तमात्मानमिति तद्याग्निमे
 कैवदंतेनमितिपादमेअनुज्योतिरमृतंविश्वानरंयोअस्वतरन्निद्रित्पाद्यन्निद्रिते तस्म
 मापयतिअरूपोरधस्यतीत्यर्थात्तत्रैयद्विद्यातनुस्त्वयेह्यारोहेत्यत्रस्य
 कामवञ्जलिाकिकेरूपंसमारोपणञ्चाशामृतोयत्तुक्लनात्मकरूपं प्रत्यक्षं धनरा
 शीरुजगत्योगाग्निअज्जेस्तदधिदैवांयस्सधूमंज्योतिर्द्विद्यादिपंचप्रज्ञेदंयदग्निप्रायेणो

३
सं। नोक्तं यस्तु सत्कं भजते यस्यैह विनिस्तुष्टे ते यमेव सौ। प्रिति। स एवाञ्जनीनादधी
तव संत इत्यादि इष्टापवत्रे ध्वर्यो ववसन इत्यंत न विधिनान् संस्तुत आहवनीयादि संस्क
रशष्टैरन्निधीयते धियज्ञे। तस्यापि देवता वदन्निधानं दृष्टं हो देवि श्यो म न्चिह्न इत्यादि
इंद्राञ्जीवाञ्जपराञ्जनी अग्निरपरा इन्द्रः पूर्वी प्रजापतिराहवनीय इति च ऊवरस्याग्ने
रपि देवता वदन्निधानं। यो दिव्यानि मन्त्रुषा ऊनुष्टं त विद्या नि विमना जिगति इद्रमि
त्रवरुणमग्निमाहु रिति आधियज्ञो यन्निर्देवता वदन्निधीयते नु पप्रयं त इत्यादि किं
त्रिरंत करणानि। त्रिचुण्णायन्निर्देवता वदियते आकुत्से प्रयुज इत्यादि मंत्रे। किं बहुनो
क्तं नञ् त्रि विष्वक् नृप यो स्वंतरन्नि रित्यादौ। अर इवात्रो न निर्देवांश्च परिभूरसिञ्जन्नि
सर्वादि वताऽल्पवं सर्वं रूपां सर्वरूपा निधाय कैर्मन्त्रिः संधानि कैः प्रवेधम इत्यादि किं

अधिः संस्क्रियतेऽत एव लौकिकमनुगमय - अथ बाधो नञ् लौकिकमेव रूपं अक्रि-
 लो किं कुरुपाधानं संस्क्रियते अन्यथा रागप्रयुक्तयो प्रवासवजायो समाश्रय प्रल-
 दं अक्रियन्तीति नमानं अनुगमय लौकिकाग्निना समं मन्या नः 'स्वे' शो सुतरूपं रूपं
 मन्नेराधीय लौकिके रूपेण दोषाद्याधिकरणदोषादिकार्यं निवृत्तिरतः पु-
 नरवता यत्रियावरोदिते सायमग्निदोषादिप्रवर्त्तितञ्चने कस्य चादग्निचाञ्चिद्रूपेण। य-
 ज्ञोगन्नाकुलेति उदुह्यन्तस्मत्तस्यार्थगार्हपत्याष्टलक्षणं करोति उद्धननावोद्धरणं प्रा-
 दं च मयरेर्षशिष्टं अद्धानां दक्षिणतः पुनरेस्मादक्षिणाग्नेर्विद्वती यमात्रगार्हपत्ये स्या-
 दक्षिणाग्नेस्त्वादष्ट्यर्षिष्वीविद्वती यमात्र इत्योदिरुविषां यावेदियजमानमात्री न वि-
 ष्यत्तितस्याः तृतीयमात्रं सामर्थ्यादक्षिणाग्निजक्षणस्यावधिवैन भूचितं मद्यामाधे

६५

३ अथ २

= (नक्षत्र)

आदित्तन विष्णुगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने ब्रह्मोदतिकजक्षणेऽपराक्षउक्तेऽननुचञ्चवि
 शतां प्रक्रमेष्ठाधेयऽयस्यऽतीयमात्रं अम्रविद्यं चान्नदीयसीति वचनादाशिका
 एव विद्यतीयमात्रं गम्यतो कांसि नो जिन्या येन सस्त्रितं वैवंतस्मादिष्टिके क्षेत्रे आधानस्य न
 विधानात्सं वसरेपि देवीऽष्टाश्च प्रणीतास्मिस्तु मध्यमवंशप्राचीनेषु संज्ञारस्तेषु विक
 प्याणि यद्यनु गच्छेत्तपुनरश्चन प्रणेतद्यमं नोरेषु गार्हपत्योऽयनु गमतः संज्ञाशदि
 पुन आधानवन्मष्टिचा प्रणेतद्यश्चत्तुष्टादिष्टेरपवग्रतिवस्यनदानां तत्राधानस्य
 चतुः ऐष्टिकैर्विधानेनेष्टीनामाधानतंत्रमंध्ये विधानो वक्ष्यति तं च आभ्याधेयिके
 त्रियस्य येन विधानेन घ्राणयनं तस्यानुऽगतस्य पुनस्तेनैव घ्राणयनस्योऽत्ररवेदि
 कादयि वंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने दीयसि न कटे समंगार्हपत्यलक्षणे स्थाने पुरस्ता

= आधानविधानं चतुर्ऐष्टिकं ३

असंख्यं कथं तैः श्रायं गौः अंतश्चरति त्रिंशद्दामा मृशसंमृशनि आजा नेयः कुली
नकः पुरस्तादिति गार्हपत्योत्तरदेशाग्निप्रायं छः॥ गार्हपत्यला रक्षां मुखं रेणाभिदन्त्य
मानसु ये सूक्ष्मा वायवाश्च बहु श्यंते वशीर्यंते तैः सुजावलोपाः॥ अन्यद्वा गोमयं च सू
दियत्र हि प्रमशिरग्निद्यज्यते। दृषणौ स्था। तत्रैति हि प्राग्निपरा मर्षाः॥ अत्र किं नो भो
जां वै। तयो रुदकुतुलां प्रज्जननं निश्चल इति प्रसिद्धिः। सूतं मूलं तो मूलं छादिभ्यस्त
सेरधिकार एउपासं रक्षाना देव बत्रिजागे मूलतः प्रजननं सिद्धं। मूलानत्यन्यो तद
युक्तमिव तृतीया र्थस्याकर्मन्ता याउत्तरा रणे विक्षेप एवात्मजं प्रधानो वचदो
दृन्वित्तिरूपा दीन्महा हवि रंताश्च नृदेहि नृवाचयति। क्रवंतं प्रयुक्त इत्यर्थः॥ अग्नि
नरः। उपोऽस्यामगानं याजुर्वेदि कचात्समवेदितयोः सम्यक् स्थापितयो र्यत्रितयोः

प्ररणोः।।वषस्तेक्ष्म।।अदर्शिगा।एतयोदितस्य।सामगायेतिवर्त्तनीयांप्रतीकान्नो
 मगात्राश्चाप्रजापातः।अन्निप्राणिनिनासिकयाग्निमन्निष्ठसिक्तियोनोऽन्निर्द्ददयंकमला
 कारमनोवातदुपलक्षिस्थानंआरभ्यहृदयादशब्दपे।मंत्रवसुद्युजमानश्चाजपती
 तिपूर्ववत्।तन्नायाद्युमतथाएवपियशानविविचिक्षिप्य।तत्पपशब्दार्थः।उपोद्यम्यपात्र्यो
 ज्जह्यायतदृशिद्या।अनामृतोपदशाइमेब्रह्मणोयजमानस्यवाधस्यमानइतिवर्त्तम
 नसामीष्टे।अविद्यमानद्वेषेद्दूरस्थैरान्येनवाकारेणाएविद्येद्वदस्यद्रजतमिति
 गम्यते।देह्यावते।उद्यताग्निरेवजपति।तथावाचयति।घर्मः।शिरशति।मयिगृह्णामीतिसे
 एकवकुधामपिअदंअग्निमितित्रीणाधिकरणकर्तृकमणिकल्पयतीगृह्णतिपश्यती
 लर्थः।एकामवेदंतचंपरमाथीतहृदयचोहृदयमित्कत्तै।योनोऽग्निः।पितरोहृतत्किं

तिवमंत्रः शुभं मनुवदति। क्रियमा एखुवा दिवात्तु मंत्राणा। मात्मयाजिपक्षेदप्रितोयं
 सूत्रं च तापि दुदय संकल्प वाचोयुक्त्या संकल्पयं तदतिद्विवचनादध्वर्युरथो वंद्य मनु
 क्तैः प्रजापतिरेव नूचाभनसो त्यादि। तत्र मयीतिः प्रात्मनि दिते हो। अत्रिपरमात्मानोऽ
 मर्त्येऽपि तदृक्त्वा मिः प्रबुधपुष्ट्या त्कल्पयामिः प्राशोपयामि एकचमनयोः समष्टिभिर्भिः। माभि
 आदधे अद्भुतमिति वक्षेत्स्यैव एककट्टे च शक्तिनेदा। तदुक्तामात्मानं वा एतत्प्रजमा
 नः संस्तु सति। युक्तेन हि मनसा यज्ञस्तायते एतदा अदश्चक्षुर्मन्यंते इत्यादि चान्द्विबोनि
 रसांऽङ्गं गिरम्युत तष्टमप्रचृतयाः अत्रैव मदग्निविश्वामित्रादयः। इन्द्रस्याश
 ऋतोरजन्म। तथा विष्णोः मानाष्टुतिः अत्रुषो नंगरस्येव मा अदिति सर्वत्र श्रीहृणं उपस्थ
 छतः पश्येदद्विष्टो तत्तज्जानु विन्यासः। स हतोरचितो। यन स उपस्थ हतः। वारवंतीये

अबुष्टजतिर्मुच तर्धे

नपत्रिगीत। संतं अबुष्टजतिपद्यन्वांजं सुं च तीत्यप्यतिअग्र अायं एकैकयैकांस
मिधमादध्याद्यथा संरघन्यायस्स लो क सिद्ध चादेव दत्तय इदत्तविष्टुमंत्रेऽप्यता।
स्तिस्त्रोक्षेनवौवीयं तामित्येकैकस्मा एकैकामिति गम्यते। प्रामीमयीस्त्रिअक्तानां न त
स्य एणमं जनेनाश्च छीषु द्विरादधातिप्रयोगस्यान्यथात्वात् गार्हपत्येति। अनिवृत्तैपि ग
र्हपत्येअग्निना दधीतेतिबहुवचनादिष्टीनां च तद्गर्भं चक्षाधानेहौमवस्य नेनिधाय त
दं तैधैर्यवेदानविधाना तद्दत्तदृष्टपवर्गइत्यक्तै। तच्छृष्टप्रतिलंभो घटस्य श्रीवां करो नी
तिवदेवं वेष्टिअग्नेर्नैआह वनीय एव संस्क्रियते। पितुं सर्वे त तश्च प्रागिष्टुपवर्गद
त्तु गदस्याधनीकं मं शुनं प्र एनं च गौमया तिरा रूणे वाग्निप्रलयाय नानियेष्टमितिः प्र ए
यतो॥ छ। यावाजिन्नाअग्निमंत्रयते। अमंत्रयत इत्यर्थो मंत्रवस्मिन्। यदक्तं दायज ६८

मानस्यासंनवाद्यधिकर एल्लंकस्थजुपतेरवतिष्ठतेऽनुर्गीगाघोषचंकल्पनालोकसि
द्धत्वात्तथाहिराज्ञः कर्म्मकप्रयतीतिकप्रनाधिकरणंकर एदति। संनारशेषः। संनार
शेषस्योपयमनीचंतत्कार्यकर एत्वा। न्नद्वयं नैदः। यथोदाहिकस्यशालान्निब
शालान्निकाद्यैविविनियोगात्। श्वलेवाल्याश्चद्वयवमिति। लोकैकपि। दवदत्तं पुत्रं करोति
नोमदत्तः पुत्रः कार्येदेवदत्तं कल्पयतीति। भवति। समानाधिकरणं। प्रष्टुष्टयस्येकचि
ष्यत्वात्। करोतिरेवमादौ विनियोगमात्रेवतीति। यत्र उद्यापाशं तदेणकरां तत्र का
र्म्मकर एत्तदेन निर्देष्टव्यति। यथा दन्तगुणं वरसं करोत्यवशिष्टया मृदा दोहिन्येव
सद्यालागप्रष्टुकोष्टस्य मृदं गच्छेत्। इत्स्यामृदोष्टमनेन वीरणेन कटमिति। एवं
चोपयमनीषु संनारशेषशष्टः। समानाधिकरणं। प्रष्टुष्टयस्येकचि। दवदत्तं पुत्रं करोति।

आग्नीध्राय प्रदा वेति शखांत राद तयुक्तं । अस्यं तु शखायांत दि म मे बाधाया चो म स
 घा तु मिच्छाम्यमान प्रणयनाया द्द्विहोणा ग्राधनेन द्वा वा यो न पद्यते मं श्रति । विबुज
 यत्फ दंडः सुखमम वहि ते धारयति । द्द्विहोणा सुखमं घनं गार्हपत्यवत् । तस्ती शब्दस्याना
 वात् । सुव ५ त्पुर्द्धुः ॥ अत्र गार्हपत्यवद्यार्थं दिहोणा ने र्नेपि पश्चत्त यो गाता य या हि
 प्रवंचान्नि परं स्वत्यत्रोक्तं । इत्थं मन्त्रिमपारो चेति । नूरित्यस्य तु वो वाधकं । उपस्थ त त्प
 त्पस्योर्द्धुः । इति बाधकं । शेषं तु भवत्येवाऽप्रतिषधा ता य दा पि गार्हपत्या हेति प
 दस्तदाष्टवा । मानं तयी विधानात् । देवर्षं नि कुंति ते षां य श्चा कृ दस्य गार्हपत्येने
 व म बोधे न द्द्विहोणा ने रित्याशयः । अर्था नति दे श श्रमं घन विधान मस्य नति दे श
 तस्यादि तिरित्यंता वा म दे हो । अनुस्ते जती लकृत् स मि धः । पूर्वोक्ताऽऽग्नीना दधी ते त्तित्र

आणं प्रकरणादुल्लुकापनुत्यर्थो वादाश्चनात्र विद्वान्नवरंददामिति वत्प्रतिषेधात्तावा
 त्अग्निप्रणयनादुल्लुका निःस्वप्रणमा अस्वपूर्वरिष्टं चक्रं वावर्तयति गमयति क्रि
 पस्त्रिषत्तनं विहाय यत्ते द्वे स चैव तत्समयाद्धूपष्टे मंत्रोद्दिश्य एव प्रतयति अस्वस्थाप्य
 अग्निप्रणयनात्तिदिराण धृष्टिः अस्वपूर्वस्तेष्टति सकर्मकास्तस्मात्तयुक्तमाने हेतु क
 तीरिति च तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः
 जात्रध्व्यामीध्वेः अस्वद्वनीया गेप्रणयनद्या एतच्चातु तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः तैत्तिरीयैः
 ध्वस्थानोऽस्वा हवनीयलक्षणं वासविज्ञानात् अस्वक्रमण मद्या रोहणं अर्पयति वत्
 नेप निष्क्रमणं परिस्वामीष्टनलं घनं प्राक् सव्यं त्रत्यवनीयाश्च प्रत्यक्षं सुखं चैव
 यत्तिप्रतिष्ठमाग्निप्रतिष्ठहीचाबुपसमीकं कल्पत्रमा एव नियम्य धारयि चाना
 पे

अथ

उपमा एव नृकीया तत्तयै तत्कस्मिन्नित्या वत्नात्फ ज्ञेयः कस्मिन् दप्त्रमतिकम्पनो
द्यकैतत्सु वाः स्वयद्यस्याप्येकस्मिन् यथा यं उल्लाप्योचयि मत्राणां मधुरता हृत्नेदा
तत्प्ररस्तादिति दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्निर्धृत्यर्थं प्रत्यङ्मुखं स्वस्वपञ्च। तस्मिन् तस्या योग्य
त्वात्। उर्ध्वं इति प्रद्वष्टितौ मात्र तर्हि गतं पुनरस्तात्स्वेयं व्रतमभिधेयेत्। अथोच्च अह
णमनर्थकं तिष्ठेनेवाच्चेः कथ्यत। प्रा तस्तिष्ठन्निवत्स्वयकोच्चो लक्षणं प्रत्यङ्गटि
लङ्गिहना मूर्द्ध्वं इति वत्ताने वंश्रतः करणमत्राङ्गटिलं दृष्टांतीयज्ञाय। द्विमेनोक्तं त्क
सम्भवतः सपन्नभ्रातृद्ययोः प्रकाशाप्रकाशत्वात्तिचत्ततोत्तदा। विहारेऽपि
सोऽपि कमाधिकरणेचे त्रविरुद्धोत्तको दोषः। सोऽपि सा मीष्टा युक्तं च। पदिव
तीयतपुदिन्नामायत्तयकारथ्यचक्रेण विपरिक्रमयेदिति गम्यते। संस्कृत्यमाणवा

तविहारस्यात्रौ संस्तुर्वनञाट्ट चंद्र --- तिउनयार्थं सतायउमानो मीउपतिष्ठ
तेनिधनौतदात्र। सस्त्राडित्पादि। अमीनूपरि। सवति; समूहति। परिमूजति। दन्तैः समू
हन्पादन्तैः कुर्याद्विहारिकाणीति। परिमार्जं। ज्वसमूहति। पयुं कृणपरिस्तरणम्
साहचर्यत्तिस्मादनेच्छं धस्यैति मन्त्रैः स्यान्ने मंस्तो मइति। परिममूहमशष्टादिमं
स्तीममि। पवगमानं गार्दपे। त्पान्नचस्यते। परिस्त्रुणाति। पूर्वमग्निमपरी वैति। परिस्त
रणमग्निशष्टाद्वकिणाग्नावाज्यनिर्वपादिनिवृत्त्यर्थं स्यादा। ज्यशष्टस्य संस्कारव
चनवा। दत्तुर्वविधिर्वज्जितिवचनपदैः। उन्नयथापि। पृश्न्याः पयइत्यादि। दुर्धने। एवं
इच्छं नूतस्य। अन्नस्याज्यार्थं। नाड्यसाध्यानि। त्रयो जनानि। निर्वपाद्वै कृणादि
केचिद्वर्ममात्रमिच्छंत्कापयमनादि। दविहोमि। दर्शनात् कुर्वतीति। त्रिसिद्धिस्त्वना

ब्रह्ममीमंशिः प्रज्ज्याक्ताष्टतान्वाक्ताएवजातिवचनत्वादाज्यस्येति। येऽन्यथाऽसम
 स्वादुत्पन्नाकुर्वर्त्तयंति। प्रादधातिसन्निध्यागशिष्टान्नत्पन्त्ये। पूर्वविवगत
 स्पयैतेऽक्रयसंबंधात्। सप्ततैः प्रमेष्ठेतीत्तरस्त्रात्प्रसृद्धिनिमित्तिद्वितीय
 तत्वात्। येऽन्यथोत्रैलोक्याग्रयोविप्रकर्षेण परं चो न द्युक्तुं त्पानीयं तौ द्वि
 एादिना तौपनीयं तदुत्पन्निविपरणयनीयाद्यवाग्नीनां द्रविणादिः स च स्य विप
 र्णराणयनं विपर्ययोद्विणप्रदाट्टयस्याः सा तष्टोक्ताऽप्रध्वर्यवे इति करणा
 त्मन्नोयं वाग्विसर्गैश्च त्पापावेन चऽप्रश्चदानमध्वर्यविलिंगात्तु दुर्बलं न भवति स्म
 त्रकारस्तु न यार्थमपि मंत्रार्थवादनोक्तं क्वचिस्त्वेत्यतिद्विः स देहीत्येव
 विधेस्तु देवतावा एतत्पूर्वैर्ध्वरित्वेवावरंचोपाकः। अनपाकृतं द्रव्यं हि दीयते इति

वा बाहिदीयते वाचा प्रदीयत इति मनुः प्रतिज्ञानमेतदनपात्र तस्य ह्मोत्रेण ददा तथ
 स्यान्निवृत्तिः सत्यं तथापि यजमानो वरं ददातीति ददाति प्रयोगात् प्रत्येकैः संप्रदाने
 ज्योवाचा दत्तमपि स्वीकृतं परदस्ते गतं छयत्र निदौ पस्यात् यं छपयौ दौः संप्रदाने
 स्यः संकल्प्यात् । स प्रतिज्ञा तस्य विषयः एव ते स्याधेनुं ददातीति अखंडितस्यैव धे
 न्वा ए दीनस्य स्वीकरणं रुचिना अर्चनं कृतमधुगत धनवत् स्यात् तस्मादपाठतमपि
 वाचा दत्तं नवति प्रत्यक्षपात्रेभ्यः ॥ ७ ॥ दाशीपोर्मुमासिकं विधानमिष्टीनामिष्टीति
 देशसूत्रं निर्वपत्यादि प्राक्ततलिं गात्पांच दक्षलान्यपि प्रयाजस्त्रित्वा दिष्टुचोद
 कप्राप्त्युधामंष्ट्रिचस्य लादिनु एविध्वा दर्शनास्वविधानप्रकृतित्वा संज्ञकाधम
 को द्वास्वरूपसिद्ध्यर्थं मिष्टीनां विद्यत इति सा दृश्या दार्शपोर्मुमासिकमेवासाध

मज्झिमतुल्युक्तमिदं मचाश्रयत्रुतुक्तं। दशीपोर्लमासिकं विधानमिष्टीनामिति। यद्याव
 श्यकं दशशिचित्रास्मा-- सर्वकश्चिन्निर्त्यतदान्यायुं कस्मैपिंषितिसस्त्रैगतत्रु
 वक्तव्यमेतत्त्रयादशीपोर्लमासशब्दोस्वप्रकरणेद्याख्यातो। तयोर्जवं विधानं प्रु
 वं द्रमसीत्यादियजुमानपत्यधुर्द्यादिसाधनं प्रायुक्तेस्य उयां तमिष्टुं नोतत्रिकद्व
 त्पानामात्रेयवत्तुहिदेवत्पानामत्रीषोमीयवत्तुबहुदेवत्पानामक्षरवर्त्तसाम्याद्या
 मरुतां ह्यक्षरद्यादशेषमारुतमात्रेयवदेवं कुरुक्षुरचादवैश्वदेवमत्रीषोमीयव
 देवं चक्षरेर्जषधीदेवत्येणं द्रात्रवत्त्यहोष्टिवीस्त्रानदेवतानामात्रेयवदोषधा
 दीनां त्रैतरिक्षस्त्रानक्षस्त्रानामैद्रवहैष्टवद्यष्टासंख्या। अथ सोयेच सैयदितौ
 र्त्तमासात्रेयवद्विधानां ततश्चोन्मतेब्रह्मवरणं। यदिदर्शित्रेयवत्तदाप्रवेद्यवैधदेक

रणं यदेवं विधेयं विधानेऽपि दृष्टं पौर्णमासां त्रेयवतश्चादाद्यात्पयस्यां च पूर्वैर्द्व्यं स्यात्
 तस्मात्त्रायधर्मत्वाद्द्ववतां यथाऽग्निप्रायेण वा पौर्णमासां प्रयत्नादस्ति विषयनेनैवाग्नि
 प्रायेणानवैश्वदेववरुणप्रघास्यपर्वणोऽपूर्वैर्द्व्यादीदिकरुणोपशौखं वचनं यद्वा मा
 वास्यायामिति कालवचनं नानामधेयमिति विवेकराश्च तत्रैवावसरैः नुक्ता मिष्यमा
 प्रवक्ष्यामि विकाराश्चोदकाधर्मेन दद्यात्प्रयुक्तिप्रसंगेन कृणोत्तत्र नुदेयश्राद्धि
 तीयामाज्यस्थानीं स्क्रवं चोपच्युतो न तरेति प्रच्युतिं संस्कृता रविषयस्य पदो होक्च
 नो होस्ति गोहस्त्रिष्टिकल्ये उदाहरिष्यति नत्र विषयः बाधः स्त्रिनेकप्रकारः यश्राग्नि
 कृष्टाग्नेयमष्टाकपालमित्यग्निद्वौ न हवणास्त्रिष्टिकशमनोद्दिष्टेण त्वाहायस्य प्र
 त्वकृष्टिष्टेन कृता वाज्यनागाविति पल्लुः आतिष्ठानिर्वप्येण योरिव कृचिस्सुञ्चया॥

तत्र ब्रह्मदेशकालफलानिधानकैश्चैक्ये तत्र वदयति तद्देहः श्रावर्हि च। परतंत्रो तत्पुं
 पुचत्रसंगं वक्ष्यति प्रायजकचमप्रायाजकवैठनयप्रयो जकत्वे च दशो विष्यति।
 देवता उपलक्ष्ये ता शनैः शनिमिति विशेष एमुपलक्ष्ये दवता वाचकः। श्राव
 दना वा क्यस्थस्तद्धितां तस्तवन्ता र्वा तौ तद्धिते नमुपाचमिकारितः। शनि रत्नरया म
 म्मुपे त्पनिशक्तलेन चेतसा तद्धिता दिजं विकारं विनय प्रकृति भूते लक्ष्यित द्यो
 यद्गीत द्योऽत्रात्मद्या पारत्न्योपलक्ष्ये। शनैः सम्यगखरयेत्फक्तं तत्र ऋडिना
 नि इन्द्रं ततद्धितः। अत्र ये विविचयेऽतीकारां ताच्छ्रयी एवं समासा दुप
 लेक्षणे। अत्राग्ना वैष्णवमित्रावरुणाम्पा इत्यादि वैष्णानरो दवा वैष्णानरमिति तद्धि
 तौ युक्तप्रायान्नचायं मुणत्तद्धित उत पत्ति वा क्ये कैवल्योपादाना द्याज्यानुवाक्यो

रन्निशद्योनिपातनागेवासौयविरुणोर्यमादायइतीतरश्याप्रिसंगस्याताङ्ग
पानप्रीयस्यकाकस्यचद्याकरणदुपलक्षणंउक्तंचामैत्रायणीनाचैर्येणध्वज्यादपो
बृहतीतिशिष्टस्याक्तासिद्धिरितिचकेचित्तुयशाम्नातमित्त्राब्रुवर्तयंतिष्ट्वस्त्रुत्वा
तेनविश्वेभ्योदेवेभ्योब्रूहीतिसिद्धंविश्वेभ्योदेवीनामहंदव्यज्यायतिसमाप्ताताङ्ग
परैरुयशाम्नातत्रहृणब्रुहिरेवाङ्गपानप्रेतुब्रूहीतिमन्यंते।ऋपोनप्रपानपृष्या
मितिस्त्रे।नाराशंसयाजिनोवात्याधसितनूनपादेवयशाम्नातमितिमिद्धंनयनु
दष्टाब्रुविधिसंदसीतितद्विताशेसमासंभूमोविश्वदेवंवरुमिति।उंषधीन्योवेदतमि
तिदीर्घइकारविकृतिषुविशेषः।आदित्यन्बहुभूपमितिवाक्यशेषादादितादा
दित्यचरुमित्यादितउंतिब्रुंताद्यंताद्यपशिक्तदादीनिष्टंजनोन्यमादीनोचैदग्निभ्या

दृष्ट्वादियाजमानादिकं स्यान्न हि बुभुक्षितस्ततोवाच्यत्वेमापद्यते ब्राह्मण इत्यस्मा
 स्तय्यदित्यवधंजने सति त्नादागंतव्याः ॥ अस्याधेयिकीनां विशेषमादातं च्यात्र
 न्याधेयिक्यः सद्याकालाः सर्वत्रिपाच्छिदेवता तत्रैन्नवास्तत्र्यातं तत्रैत्रचादाधमि
 क्रोविदारः ॥ प्रकरणात्तयथासाकमेधिकस्तेन्यावयवदृष्टत्तत्रैत्रचादोः
 समानविहादिकस्य साकमेधावयवस्येति विशेषणं ॥ अत्र तत्रैत्रस्यानीकवतादे
 निवृत्त्यर्थं तत्रमदाहविस्तन्मदबाधानां अतएवैष्टिककर्ममिधानिष्यं वद्यतिषितं
 परस्यरावधिवै नैस्तत्रयिष्यति ॥ अपि चाग्राधेयेन वा अस्य धेयिक्यस्ततप्रयोजना
 क्रयेनेष्टायाधानमैत्रं ॥ तत्रशष्टाङ्गवष्टेर्दिगादिभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययस्तत्रैत्रस्यैतिसप्तम्य
 तो वागपुनस्तत्रैत्राद्यातबहुवचनं तैत्र्यदितं त्रीणामिदो संनवाता एवंचय एवाधान

नाङ्कि२

४

ल्लिङ्गस्तदृष्टिषु स्यस्तत्र मध्ये विधानो नान्येव वरीतव्याः सद्यः समानां कालोऽयं सांता
स्ताण्याक्तोऽश्राधाङ्गो नैकाऽत्यर्थः। ननु सद्यः कालत्रयं एणमुपवसद्य निवृत्यर्थः। संस्थित
यामित्फपवसद्यः। सा मा धाने स्तत्र निव निषिध्यति। सा मा धाने स्तत्रेरेव निषत्स्यति
तस्मात्सद्यः कालत्रयं दणमिष्टिनिर्गते तपोसमस्यामित्याद्येष्टिके कालव्यदासाथ
अताद्युक्तमुक्तं मा धानाङ्कि क्यऽति। संवसरे देवीष्विति उवाषिकं उक्तं चावाशद्वै
संवसारसाद्यावतिऽत्र निर्विस्तृष्टः। प्रजापतिरित्यादिऽत्रापि पदे द्वे द्वे योजिता पार्श्वे
च्चादितानो प्रति स मा धात्वेऽशुक्रमः। किं तु यावान् स्तत्रार्थस्तवेदां यमावाचा मेति। सर्वाः
आधाने देवतान्त्वारं नृणां याश्च पौंसमास्याम मा वा स्या यादु वा सद्यः कालयादु बीड
ष्विति विपरीतपद्यः। आल्यन वाक्यं तिसंवसरे वादवीडष्विति नैव तीत्यर्थः। आल्येन वा

इत्यनुवादाः शब्दबुधार्थं संवत्सरं देववीः श्रीतिपदेऽपि तत्र स्थितिं विस्मयितो यमवधि
 स्तुतुं तं ब्राह्मणं भाष्यकारणः पवमानो दीनिहवींश्च मय्यथीनिर्लिङ्गप्रकरणं यं इति
 तस्मादजस्रो ये अत्र यः स्फः संस्काराधिचातुदारीतनाथस्ततोक्तं अज्ञाधेयस्य
 यद्बुधं पवमानो दिष्टानि प्रायमित्थपक्वम्यताविना मयनिष्यते रित्यादि उपपद्यते
 वतान्निधानानि यासोऽप्युपादेयैव ता अत्र मयधेये त्रिद्विरारं न एणीयेत्यन्याधेयं वि
 शेष एमारं न एणीयापरिभाषार्थं वा आधानस्याते न पुनराधानेष्टारं न एणीयास्या
 तनुपादेयुदेव तार्थत्वं वा अत्र मयधेयं विशेष एमारं न एणीयाया निरूप्याने यमष्टा
 कपालो अत्राकचिदाहुः अत्र मयर्थादीनिहवीः। षि अत्रिधेव वस्तुमिति लिङ्गप्रकृ
 रणभ्यां आधानान्ते कानीत्यपरे। सूत्रकारस्य आधानागानीति लक्ष्यता ह्येमे

वसानाऽऽग्निमादधीयातामिति ब्रह्मोदनादिष्टिपयंत्यैः प्रेवसानयोराधानं सूचय
 तोयतिषंगनचस्तूत्रयतः साधानां गान्दिहवीहृष्यसिप्रतानि निरुग्रदण्णादग्निदेवत्र
 देवण्यजावपि निवीपस्य युणालाप नमु रघस्येति वचनात् । ब्रह्मावृत एव सांगप्रधानाथ
 स्वातवरणस्य यथासामिष्टिषु ब्रह्मणावृतत्वाद्यर्थे सोमसिक्कं वरणं सोमनिवर्त्तते
 त्ति एव ऽत्राफिउपवस्यसुऽऽधानिक एव ऽष्टीनां सद्याः कालत्वाद्वा गात्रे विदइत्या
 दिभ्योऽनेयसु पसाद्यान्मद्वयं रक्षेत्ति मयंतं । ननु दर्शपौर्णमासौ ऽत्र ग्राधेयिकी
 ष्टिसंस्कृतेषां त्रिषु विहितौ ऽत्र ग्राधेयि क्वापि न संस्क्रिते सुस्फुरितिना ऽनवस्था
 प्रसंगात् । आरंजलीया चैस्तत्रैव निषिद्धाऽऽनन ग्रीवा दनाय ष्ठीनां सप्तमी तु या
 ग्राधाय त्रिह विप्रति सायस्य च जावेनेति न च धिक्करणै वै मृधादयस्तु काम्य चान्ना

आननर्ब

नित्यं तत्तत्प्रणीतमुः सृज्य निर्वर्षं तद्विषयोऽभ्याधेयविधिघ्नान्तेक्ष्मं ते च दि-
 केव तत्संस्कारना गिनं त्यक्त्वा न्यतु संस्क्रियते यद्विषयौ दनादिकः। लक्षणान्नष्टाद-
 यन्मिंसं न वेऽप्रथमं संस्कृतमु तद्वृज्यत तद्दृष्टा तत्वीरहा च यत्तत्प्रन्य प्रणीवचनात्
 संस्कृतोपि द्विनौकिकः। श्रद्धस्य द्विजसंस्कारे द्विजं च नाभिधीयते। किंयुपांजोषयिवा
 नून्योयुपांस्कृतः। नून्यार्थपिवाधाय। मिष्टिनिर्धेः समुद्भजेत। अश्वप्रणीतसंस्कार-
 इष्टयसैः समाश्रिताः। अन्या यो नापि वचनं न वशात्। तत्प्रस्थितं तन्नाधानेऽप्रि-
 यनमंगमंगं प्रतिष्ठा चिन्तिरुथेति निर्वापमग्निहोत्रद्वय एवात्र ज्ञा वेपि दर्शयति। तत्
 श्वपात्रं तरेन तु श्रुतेनानाबीजनिर्वापदर्शनात्। नानाबीजपात्री तु संसाद्यते। मिहो० ६
 तद्वद्वर्णार्थविधानादिद्वुतस्याऽभ्यावाजिहात्रानावा। न च प्रोक्षणीभिः प्रयुज्यते

ऋनिर्दृष्टायामसिच्योतिपरप्रयुबौधार्वात्तासांएवंचाग्निष्टोवात्रोषोपवपनेचनकेन
 चिदसंसादितनक्रियातानदित्रोषापवपनेनकपालं प्रयुज्यातात्तत्रनकर्तव्यंनुषो
 पवपनेनिरुष्टाग्रदहणेनअणलोपेचमुख्येतिदक्षितेतिवातोऽग्नेर्मन्त्रेत्पादिआ
 हवनीयात्संभ्यंआहवनीयशष्टोनाविन्याहत्यातस्मिन्ब्रह्मोदनिकमितियथा
 अतःआहवनीयेजुहातीतिहोमाऽतिदेशाताऽत्रस्य॥किंलुद्धितययापरिणम्यते
 आवनीयेजुहातीतिहोमं संस्काराण्युत्वा नृहंसीमाधानुमात्रं सन्यस्या तप्याचौदनाताऽ
 चारणात्पाहवनीयमित्यधिक्वारादावसश्रूवा नंयतिपूर्वमा मंत्रणायाधिदेव
 नोदिनोदवैनिषसादधृतत्रतीतिजु होत्यश्रादाज्यं प्रस्नानतिदीष्ट्यति।बिचित्रयादृश
 निधायैतितदारुतात्तृताद्विचिंत्येतिअतादृशयेनया यत्तृक्नीयादिचयश्रंसिच्येद्

तथोदिरण्यदि। एवं विदः सञ्चाना मंत्रये ता यथोक्तमायनिकितवा इति प्राकृतो न प्रपद्येते
 तत्सूत्रं प्राक् प्राकृणादित्फक्त्वा दवधः। सिद्धेष्टिदप्रपिर्समासविधानप्रसिद्धं। संतिष्ठतध
 त्ति। किं यावता सिद्धेष्टिरिति वचनेन संस्था लेभ्यत एष उच्यते। तत्फक्त्वा। युक्तं। तदेतदीष्टीनां परस्पराना
 यामिष्टो ब्रतविमो कइति मतं। तन्निरासाय संतिष्ठत इत्फक्त्वा। युक्तं। तदेतदीष्टीनां परस्पराना
 काङ्क्षा। न वपनी संयोजीतेत्यादि वचनमस्ति दीक्षणीयादिवाद्युशेवधे। संस्था वच
 नान्नावात्तु ब्रतविमो कं संस्था स्याते पञ्चवत् च वरुणप्रद्या सादिषु। अवश्यं। दियस्य देवताप
 रिग्रहाय मन्वाधानं तस्य वैश्वदेवीष्टोपुनः। कार्ये न सोमार्थवाधानवतदीक्षणीयादिष्विवा
 मावा स्य वैश्वदेवस्य प्रसूयेता। अंगानि च नावातु ब्रतं उच्यमानेन जेहीते न पुन नृष्टि
 तेपिष्टपे षण्मन्यथा भवेत्। अत्रापि बालाः संस्था वचनं दृष्ट्वा जिं प्रवादयंति अतएव वा

संतिष्ठतः ८५ ३३५५ पुनरुक्ते

लाः॥ येनेष्टि संस्थावचनमग्न्यपवत्राष्टिं विदंति न तावत्संस्थितशब्देनाग्न्युत्सर्गजिह्वेते। समा
स्यवानापितात्पर्यं त्रिन संस्थितायामितिका लविधानपस्थासंनिष्ठातिने इत्यत्र स्त्रीपुन
रुक्ते उक्ते तात्पर्यं अत्रिचप्रतिरात्रं संस्थाप्यसाम्नाय्यन यजुं तिसाम्नाय्यं संस्थाप्या
त्रेण संस्थिते पोर्णमास्येन यजंत इत्पादौ कावात्तसिं स्थावचनं त्रं तत्राणपि कर्मापि व
अविस्मृत्यत एवाद्दवनीयः सत्यपि संस्थावचने अंग न्तैषु इष्टिपक्षे ओमेपु न विस्मृत्य
ते। न कात्रणं संस्थावचनमत्रि विस्मर्जनस्य ननु त्रैकप्राप्त्या शंका अश्वप्रणति इष्टीनां
क्तिन्निराग तं निषेधसि। यद्विप्राप्तं मन्ये सो न्यायतस्माकं न बाध्यते प्रयोजनमपि ते तन्नि
षेधपरं ॥ स्त्री। संस्थितायामग्न्या एव संस्थितायामग्न्या मिति कलनित्यप्रपवमाननि
वपि स्याय द्वापवसष्टादिपावमानं ह विरजिषे तं स्यात्तदा संस्थितायामिति कालविधा

नमनर्थकं स्यात्। स्तत्र पाठः क्रमेणैव सिद्धेऽस्ति। संतिष्ठते। अत्र नये पवमाना येत्फपवसया
 दिलभ्येतति। तत्र सद्यः कालाऽत्यनेन वचनेनाधानिके द्विविधानसमष्ट्युपवसया
 धानप्रतीतिः। तस्मात्संस्थितायामिति न पुनरुक्तमासा माधानसद्यः कालनायामा
 त्मन्धर्ष्यनिचत्सामाधानविषयं संवस्यारहं वीषीति विशेषविधानासो माधाने पाठ
 क्रमात्सद्यः अधानद्विकेऽस्याः। दात्रेया अधानमध्ये विधानादिरथा संवस्यारतथाग्रया
 अपि स्यात्। तस्मादसो माधानपक्षेऽपि सद्यः कालता सिद्धाभात्र ब्रह्मवरणं। तत्र मध्ये विधा
 नादुक्तं द्विदृशौ। सर्मामि कवरणं सोमे निवर्त्तति। अन्वाधानादिसिद्धं दक्षिणा
 यो विकारः। कचिदश्वेन प्रणीतमुच्छाद्यान्यमाहवनीयं प्रणयति। ते हव्रन्यायं वस्यं
 तः। अत्रेयीष्टं तमाधानमिति गायंते उक्तः। परिहारस्तथापि तं पृच्छामा यद्याधानेति

ष्यन्ते ॥ किमर्थमिदं मानादीनि अथ श्रुति चेत्तु बुद्ध्या कुशमादवनीयस्येष्टिफलत्वा
 यनेष्टिभिः सिद्धता अस्मिद्धं हि साध्या योपदिश्यते ॥ आदवनीयस्य सिद्धः साधयेते ह विनि
 रतो वा सिद्ध उक्त दितेन केवलं यथा क्लेशा फलजा वा यथा वतावीर ह त्यापि तिन च यो
 समसिक्तं प्रणयनमाधानेष्टिषु श्रुत्यादि निरूप्यते अतया श्रुत्येता आदवनीयेषु व
 तीति वत अथातिदेशतः प्राप्स्यस्याप्यर्थता ॥ होमादिदेशस्य मन्त्रेष्टितानि वं उक्तं न्य
 दिहोमादि सन्त न बाधते ॥ लब्धविनियुक्तिर्विक्रयविदम्बिता अपि चादवनीयेषु होत
 त्वाधानि केमेवेदं वाक्य उपाधायै स्यान्म्यगम्य अतिदेशिक पक्षेपिता दद्याद्विप्र
 स्यात्कं ॥ तस्मात् प्रागर्ध्र्युवसनदानादनुगतो अग्निराधानिक विधानेन मन्त्रेण प्रण
 येत्यथार्थेनात्र संतिष्ठत इत्युक्तं ॥ नाश्रुत्तरं न वद्व्यतिन संस्थिता यामिति हेतु
 स्त्वालम्पत कालपरचादस्य सद्यो ॥ तर्हि या सा संस्था वचनं नास्ति तान संस्थाप्या

स्माः

इति अत्र ये च ये चकारः सोऽत्रो न सं प्रेषकाले प्रयोक्तव्यः सप्त तिमानमिति पाव
 कस्य त्रिंशन्मानमत्रा पूर्वयोर्द्विषो द्वे त्रिंशन्माने इत्यादि अचिना पावकसमा
 नबर्हिद्वेति पवमानोपेक्षं पूर्वयो रजि पूर्वचं पावकस्यानपु न द्वे द्विगा विषये एसा
 दित्येन बर्हि विषयी सा द्वित्यं विकल्पात् अत्र उल्यवा त एतस्माद्वायते एका द्विकु
 नवरुणप्रघासिको वद्वद्विणेति नवान्ममनंतरचात एवैव संतत्र मध्ये पि प्रायश्चित्त
 क्षोपतितायां नष्टया दद्विणे तो संस्थायां विस्तु वैवप्ति पि विष्ठा यचकार उक्तं
 आदित्यश्चरुः कां स्पन ब्रह्मवर्चसं कामस्येति वतका म्यच्चाद नित्यरो दि एषा
 धानवा स्याने तदस्ति अत्र नित्यख प्रसंगात् उखा प्रद्येजना वन्निश्चयं युक्तं अ
 यथैवा त् अंधानां अवादेति ब्रह्मण इति प्लुका म इति वर्तति अन्नीषा मोय

द्वितीयमिति पृष्ठका माये द्वंद्वितीयचंद्रांतरश्या चक्षुष्यमिति स्यात्। अन्त्ये उद्धृति
यग्रहणा द्विद्विकामादिनष्टिमन्यतां आवपनं श्रुतौ। बहुव्रीहिरर्थीष्टतमिति
भावसाधनेनैवामक्षणेन अविद्यमानमेक्षणे। एवंच अवन कालेपि न मेक्षणेन
वद्येत्। अतएव अरंभणीयायामक्षणां वक्ष्यात्। तत्रापि न अपरां माया तत्रास्मा
गयज्जमानान्माभ्यामपि परिहृण एव सादित्यां ननु प्रदाने प्रक्षयश्च तत्राश्चेदक्षि
णकालेपि नागपरिहृणोत्तरकोलेदक्षिणपाठक्रमबलीयस्त्वातु तत्तं विकाराच्छे
कमिष्यामीयथा स्नातेमिति। प्रक्षुत्तौ श्वष्टमेव पवितं। नागपरिहृणोऽन्निघाटणा
द्वासनमनुमंत्रणं ततोदानमिति युक्तं। नष्टमिति घोरितं चानुयोज्ये। अस्मिन्नस्थत्वा
द्युवर्जं श्रुतौ दानमुक्तं। अजं कल्माषमुक्तं। अजाने वा श्ववतूनुपयुक्तत्वात्। उपब

ईणसुपधानमिदधानिकाः॥सर्वमवस्तुत्रमयं स्यात्॥अनङ्गानितिवयोवचनेन
 पञ्चदशैतस्मान्मध्यस्यःइतएवयोवदन्ति॥नङ्गानेयद्वेवंधेनुपरिवयः॥सत्वं
 त्तमानवयान्नृत्तनचनाविनिःप्रनङ्गप्रचत्तिष्ठुवयः॥सुवर्त्तमानं वयसाम
 ध्यात्तुष्टुत्तयोः॥सांङ्गः॥दित्यवा दंच्छुःकरमिति श्रुता॥हिंसायनीवस्तरीयदि
 त्योदीवयसो ददातीति श्रुताः॥अङ्गादया दक्षिणा आधानप्रकरणे पवितास्मा
 अंमोया मिष्टो विनियुं जान अधानां गा इष्टीः स्तुचयति पूर्वयो स्त्वष्ट्रो राधानप्र
 कुरणपूवशतमानं विनज्य अत्याविनिद्युक्तं॥तया स्तेना विरुद्धत्वात्परितोषाव
 न्यामिष्यो वजादयो दक्षिण स्फुरित्यग्निप्रायः॥अथा प्रसङ्गितिवदिष्टयोः॥पञ्चदश
 यायावा अस्त्यै त इति लिङ्गात्प्रकरणे बाधित्वात् प्रवृत्तितरपि अत्र नष्टं स्यादिति

एतन्

वतः सुकोदोष इति चेत् न कश्चिदिति किं नु स्तत्र कारस्य आधानां गासर्वव्यतिषंग
 विधौ वा आधानमुपकारेकमुपदिष्टं नृपितृपुत्रं च नृपकारेकरोति समु
 दयादंशं गिन्नावपाह्वाबलीयानिति स्तत्र त्रयदाशयः रथं युक्तं गवाजादीनां ज्ञान
 तमोवायुक्तिः अविशेषोऽन्यत्र त्रदणं क्रियात आश्रयं वा त प्राप्तिश्चेत्परि संख्या
 नियात्मा वापुनर्वचनात् च प्राप्तिः सोऽरगादीनामपि प्रसक्तैः ॥ इष्ट्युपवार्त्तः ॥ धर्म
 वसने ददाति अनुक्रमस्तत्राणकोऽभिप्रायः न तावद्धर्षं च स्मात्पुनः कर
 णं दृष्ट्वा तेषां धर्मवैचर्येन दत्ताद्य इति वक्तव्योऽत्र दक्षिणादिदक्षिणाकाजै
 स न योदीनं यदि स्यात् तत्र दत्तौ मवसानाभ्यां आधानं कृत्स्नं नालुप्तं स्यात् ततो
 क्रमणत्वात् तत्र हृतदानेन उक्तं चैतदंगवैकारणं सु रथं स्तत्र सर्वयोद्धविजो नितिकं

१५ तथा च श्रुतिः ॥ यदजमग्राधेये ददातीत्यग्राधेयो मज दानमिष्टिषु दी

गदशनिदि त्पाया मिष्टो स्त्रिंशत्तं कृतं स मिष्टजुषि विनश्य प्राशानां तौ ते स्पृष्टति कृत
 प्राशानभ्यः। सामनाय दूमा एतं विधं तं प्रयुक्तं माधानं सूचयति तत्र कैचित्
 काम्यविधः प्रयुक्तमेवान्येन नित्यविधयः पुरुषा एषे वेति तत् प्रयुक्तिः। कनका
 र्थिता यस्तु स्मृतिकाराः प्रातः संस्कारसाधनस्य नित्यं च मिक्तं तित द्विधं तत् प्रयु
 क्तं चैपि न विरोक्ष्यता अग्निष्टोमादि संस्काराणां मसं स्थावावत्यष्टपुन
 र्प्राथम्या यश्चिन्नष्टायाः स्तिममलजननादिरप्यवा स संश्रयति त्रदादिनिमि
 त्ताः किं आधानं प्रयुज्यते। ननु तन्नैतिकाम्येष्टिवत्ता पुरुषार्थं वात् प्रयुक्तो प्राश
 यो ब्रूमः। यस्य प्रद्वंतेष्टियत्तपद्यतोऽप्यतिपद्यति वात्वायु कया आदितान्त्रे
 रधिकारागम्यता तथा चानुवादेयस्यादितान्नैः सतामिष्टिदानं दाददितोऽत्र
 ज्ञेना ध्यायेत्यग्निर्दणमतिरिच्यता प्रकृतं चोदाधय विषया खनो नो नो न क्रिय

तस्मात्तव के बुधार्थे मंदधी रजस्रधारणं वस्मरेदपि स्मारितं वान्यै रजस्राग्रयः सं
 वसरं सुस्काराणि चिदादिति अस्मीना धायामी नृधि ह्येष्ट स्थापयित्वै ल्यष्टिः आधानं
 स्यात्तैर्दृष्टाष्टतन्निष्पात्तं रुक्मं च संस्कृतैर्कर्म संस्काराणां न तदष्टिं चातुः अ न तद्व
 तं तद्वत्तु चोन्नतः शरावं उदं न दक्षिणा न्नो केचित् अ पयं तपन्वा हाय दशेनातः सो
 ऽपि दिसं चिरान्यो दीयत न्नातु नायः आ ज्यस्यो ऽष्टिषु देवताः पवमानस्य दवीः
 प्रियत्वा वत्पानिता ल्यादवतोभ्यः अज्यं कुडुयातु यत्तोभ्यो देवताभ्योऽग्निमाधुत
 दत्पादिः क्रतुः संभाषेत आदितस्यादवनीयस्या ननु ध्यानां प्रीति आ ज्य होमः संव
 सरं यावत्तद्विष्ठां प्रतीक्षणा योक्तो न स्थापनाय यथापयो दद्विष्ठां रिति नाषा
 योः पूर्वगण्यते तथा ज्य होतापि पथो ह्वयते शाखां तरुणात् आधानं तत्र मधापापिः
 चो संवसरं अज्यं रणसप्तमीयः ॥—१

निमित्तसप्तम्यां सर्वपदेऽनावातः काले स्य च स्त्री मन्वाधानं सद्यः कालोक्तस्यपि
 छीनां स्थापितत्वात् आदिताग्ननिर्णयमाना दोना स्यान् सन्निपादिना अन्नश्रतं समि
 त्तज्जनाग्निचैन्मसाद्यदित्यर्थः कृबी सं दृष्टिर्वा तस्याध्वं प्रधीवनस्य सुयोऽज्जिस्त
 त पूर्वमोऽपदं कुष्मापदं च आ मंत्राणां प्रा कृतं आ मंत्रितो न गच्छेत् नान्मपगच्छे
 दनिद्येना एमं त्रिताय च तिक्रमण आनिं द्या मंत्र ए स्य दोषश्च वणं तदन्मपगम्या
 निक्रमेद्रष्टव्यं तत्रापवादाः अपरा क्ता मंत्राणां ब्रजे तत्र द्रव्यत्वाच्च वसीदन् पूर्ववत्ति
 गच्छेत् एवं च आ द्वादो अपरा क्त्वा न चैना मंत्राणां गच्छेत् स्वदत्तं तदंशं एतदित्यदि
 सिद्धवान्वा रघ्या तमिति प्रा क्त्वा विनिर्वा पा त् आदिताग्नेव्रतानि श्रुतौ नोदितौ
 निदं प्रथो र्ममासा वारस्पमाण इति संवत्सरे गत दशमौ र्ममासा रं न निमित्ता स्य

एयात्रिर्वीपंस्तत्रयन्प्राक् दृशीपोर्लमासायं न दिवसे गमयति। यावज्जीवं दृशीपो
 मासाधिकारां काम्यो वा। तदारं न निवीपत् न प्रतिप्रयोगा रजोऽतरथाऽप्याधेये त्रिह
 विरित्पादि। अग्न्याधयस्योपरिस्त्रत्रणमनर्थकं स्यात्। एवम तदुत्सं नार्थे रधिक
 रः। विच्छेदात्पुनराधायज्ञारं न एण्यां न चाधिका रं प्रतिपद्यतोऽप्यपरेऽत्र विच्छिन्नाभि
 होत्रस्य दृशीपोर्लमासविच्छेदेऽज्ञारं न एण्यामिच्छंति। स्वस्त्रवचनात्। तत्र दर्शिते ^{काल}
 तिपक्षौ। आदृशीदापोर्लमासाद्वाप्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। तदाद्या दयादिपक्षे एवं आ
 रं न एण्यां न चापुनरा रं न तत् दृशीपोर्लमासयो रविच्छेदयच्छ्रुतसन्नोऽपि स्ततद्वा
 न्नवपुनराशीयेते तदारं न एण्यां नेच्छंति प्रायश्चित्तवत्सद्यः पुनराधानं स्यात्। न चाधिका
 रविच्छेद इति नारं न एण्याः स्त्रत्रकारस्य उक्तं आधेयविशेषणवदत्वे वेति। अत्र येनमि

ने इति चकारः स्तौत्रः। प्राकृष्टिष्ठत्तोदादशो त्पतग्राहं कुवाजु द्वमन्मद्विप्रोत्तय
 जुहुयादित्यथीसमिष्टयजुषं च संतत्त्वमाज्याचिप कादविरुहं। त्रयोदशी सत्तज्ज
 क्षीतनष्टेर्वेस्त्रेऽत्राहुयथा संख्येन द्वादश अर्दण नञ् रघो ब्रह्मवर्चसी चैति फल
 ऋतिः। विनैव कामनित्याहुतिर्जयाचातया कामायां अहुतौ पादिकमाहुः॥
 तेषां ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य त्रयोदश गृहीतं तु द्वादशमित्येव स्या। चतुर्दशी स ब्रह्म
 नयात्वेकल्यते। मक्षणेन च तद्यागावौ इत्फुल्लं सूक्तं वाक्यं शतिका लक्षणा पोष
 मास्यामाधाय सद्यो द्वाविषां निवीपपक्षस्येतस्य लिङ्गं सैव सरेदविषा निवीप
 चतुर्दशो मेव स्यात्। अतीतै संवसार पौर्णमासी स्या। तदि संवसारमा सपक्षाय
 स्याति यौऽत्रा अरभ्य तसति शिस्तदांत गण्यते। तत्र पक्षे चतुर्दशो मेवोपक्रम आनं

नणीयाः। अपिच। यस्तु रुक्षप्रतिपदि न क्वं शदा धानं ऊयति तस्य यथापि पौष्
 मा स्यां संवत्सरोत्पत्तौ ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत्। किं तद्विचित्रं दृष्ट्वा
 मेवाऽतरथा सद्यः कालतापोऽस्मा स्या संवत्सरोत्पत्तौ ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्या
 पिन तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्या
 तस्यां तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्यापि न तस्यां निर्वपेत् ७। अत्र प्राप्नुवंति तस्या
 ७। अपि पौष्मा स्या धानेन कामं संकल्प्या यत्र यत्र प्रयोगे काम्या सिद्धः सद्यः काल
 स्त्रे न विकलचा ता एवंच निचयने मित्तिके यथा शक्ति ऊयति न ह्यप्यवश्यम्भूतानां
 न वमात्रेण प्रधानकाल संज्ञे प्रधानो फाराधी युक्त इति सद्यस्तु वचनं एत
 स्प नित्यस्य विकल्पस्याद्यनुष्ठानं लिङ्गात् एतावत् यदि प्राग्निर्वपेण दिति प्र

धानकालप्रवृत्तिस्यास्तएवेतद्रष्टव्यं। नोपवसथकालातिक्रमोनउपवसथबुद्ध्या
 पक्रमात्वाचनिकं वा सद्यः कालचनित्याशिकेरनिष्ठत्वाय तैदशेदितितदङ्गैः।
 भ्रमावास्यामाधाय बानहत्रप्रदर्शनार्थः फाल्गुन्याः पुरस्तादाधायैति उपवसथ
 कालस्य संभवां तात्सद्यः। पोसमासीयुक्ताः। अज्ञातां त्रेणां च धानमार्त्तणीयायाः
 च्यवस्थितवात्कैलस्यासौ माधानपोसमास्यासु त्पादेन पौसमासीवदारंभणी
 यापिसद्यः कालादंडयूपिकया सिद्धाद्रष्टव्याः। छ। स माघमाधानं॥ छा। उद्धरादे
 वनीयमिक्तक्रागार्दपत्पादादवनीयहलं तं प्रणयत्यपराक्ने। आधानादनंतरं य
 द्यपि सोमार्थं विदरं प्रथममादवनीयस्यारंजणीथैवाकदा चिस्थात्रयाद्यौ सि
 त्पादन्निदोत्रस्य प्रथमचमिति। तदर्थमिव प्रथमं विदरं। अर्धममादा। उद्धरादवनीय

याश्चि

क्षिप्वादिभ्यस्तश्चादित्यत्र दृष्टीकं विदुरणोत्तथा च दृष्टिर्मात्रप्रकृदणो
र्देपत्यादादवनीयं द्वा लंतमिति गार्दपत्या दो नि वचना निधमंति रपरि संस्था नाथा
न्यक्ता निशतरशोपवस्वशान्तुत्तैर्भ्रमिं विहृ रतीत्ये तावदे वाव दम तय द्यग्नि सौत्र
धर्मकं विदुरणमभ्यपेयादिति ध्रुवाचा योः शोखांतरा एवाचक्षुः दं चो वक्ष्येऽस्मि
होत्रप्रकरणे क्तमपि दशमि एभिर्मादौ मंत्रब्रतप्रणयनं युक्तमिव यथा सावि
त्रहोमैः स्तुतव्यं मर्जनं दापि कप्रकरणे क्तं यथा वैद्वं दृष्टिं सप्तमि सयोरत्र
पयुक्षिणपरिस्तरणंति रपि द्वाते पदाथ धिर्मचात् प्रसृजित्वा न्यसंस्कारवत्तथा
दिप्रदोषमग्निहोत्रादा तद्यमित्यतोऽग्निहोत्राधिकारवाक्याश्रवणात्प्रकरणे
रक्षीयुक्ता यत्पुनरुक्तं गार्दपत्यादादवनीयं क्तं लंतमिति वासप्रवाचयित्वा ब

धस्तस्याः कल्पतेऽत्यनेकाष्टकेऽप्यनात्तस्माद्दृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोगदिपत्यादिषु
 अवणमाधानिकप्रणयनधमयिन्नुत्पद्यन्ति त्रिंशन्निदात्रिकप्रैकेऽणयनधमपिब
 द्दणार्थतेयाच्चाएवंचप्रणयनाननुवादेनकालमात्रंउपवस्वशानेनुक्तं
 तिविधीयतेऽप्रणयनविधानेऽनित्यधृतेऽपिगोतश्रीदृशिपौसमिन्प्रयोः
 प्रणयनमपूर्वविधानात्केनवार्येतऽसुतरन्निमत्यामंश्रनवतृञ्जिहोत्रेनु
 वीधीयतएवप्रणयनंरुदस्तेऽयच्चाऽग्निदोत्राश्रम्यविधानं प्रणयन
 स्यऽतद्वर्म्मपिरिसंख्यायैगादपित्यादित्यदरांशुनरुक्तं। दृशिपौसमिन्प्र
 णयनंरुक्सीजवत्तु। नमद्विबेद्विद्युगतास्त्रियापिसायहोमाश्रःप्रणीतोय
 ऋदवनीयःसधार्यतद्वत्तिषाखरस्वामिपादाःसमाश्रयेऽष्ट्यतेऽधाधानैपात्याद

गाईः

वनीया वैकायतनौ च वत इति तिरुक्कं अतो नाश्व प्रणीतधारणं तेषामिति मन्या
मादा इतर श्रुतगतस्याधानिकं प्रणयनं स्यात् नारुक्कं अत्र धर्मकं विधानात् उद्धराद्व
नीयमिति मंत्रमुक्तादवनीयं प्रणयति वक्ष्यमाणधर्मैर्गीगादपत्या तगादपे त्पायतनादि
त्यर्थः। विराडे वास्याग्नीन्विदधत इति गादपत्ये विप्रक्ताग्नीनो प्रणयन्ते। कर्कत्पामि
ति न विप्रतिवर्त्तमानापदेशः। मुरुद्ये वर्त्तमानवैक्यं निष्टं तशश्च वाग्वाग्वा
य कालो नोक्तमालानां शको कर्कत्पे वस्य इच्छितकालातिक्रमात्। वावाचादा
त्र त्फरत्फद्य क्तिलो क्षियमाण इति रुतिनयति अमृतकुंति। सा यमपराक
निदधाति अवस्थापयति स्तयमिमा विति प्रातरुषा कालो न कठो यत्कीयात्

कुतसायमजिहोत्रैतमेवादवनीयंप्रातर्होमार्थधारयेदित्यर्थीः। गृहीयान्नक्तमग्नि
 निति श्रुतेः। अथ कर्मिक्याका लने। दपि किंतं त्र ता विद्मर स्यान्नाग्निप्रेता। अत्र दोषो
 तद्धोषा। अत्रा तर्होम विधिः। यदि कर्मिक्यादिपदकः। दशपि सोमस्य दिनिमे
 न्निकं च परतंत्रपावधीयवैश्वदेवादि वत्स्यान्न ह तपो एमिसे दशे चोतराया
 ए। दिस्या तद्धोष पदस्य कर्मिक्यपदेन घटातलो किंकेऽभौ प्रातर्होमो यंके
 शोते। अथ सायंदोम प्रातर्होमो पदस्य रात्रये दौ। तदानर्होवा गृहीयादिति वाच
 निकमग्ने स्तंत्रचं। इदानीं कर्तुं विशेषेण विशेषमादागतश्रीरित्यादि संज्ञासूत्रेयं त्रं।
 नोषार्थीः। सदि वक्तव्य इति श्रुत्वा नृश्रवस्य एवेत्यर्थः। ऊहापादसमाध्यात्र श्रुत्वा
 नृइति त्रैतासदिपदवाक्ये प्रमाणस्वेष्टु र्हेषु विषयेषु सम्यक्परिज्ञातेषु स

तिनऋतमात्रेण तस्य वर्जनीय चात। सूर्यस्या न धिका रात्त्या मणी मंडली का बहु
कुष्ट दृषद स माप्ता धन धान्य पशु पुत्र दिरण्या दिस मृच्छ। स्तेषां गतस्त्रियो गा देप त्या दिव
यै भ्रियते यः स एव सायं हो मा धि आ धा ना द नं त र मु भ्रियते। स एव सर्व कर्मिणां सा धा र
णो धायति। गा देप त यो नि चैऽपि दक्षिणाग्निर्नित्य धृत चो स मा रो प य त्प रा व त्री इ ति
सूत्रज्ञ तो तं। एवं वसुश्रुतुषां ब्राह्मणा नो प्रति कर्म विदूत्या ह व नी य मनु शा नो क्तु र्वत्ता
वृथा लोकाः। उ सः अपि वा द रूप विधि वा द न योऽप क्त यो रिंद्र म दे द्र या ग प द्द व त
लुवो विजि र सा मि त्या दि व द्वा नि य म वि धि श्रे। न यार्थ त य न नि य मा अ पि य र स्प रा प वा
देन द्यु व तिष्ठं ते। प यो ब्राह्मण व्र त मि त्या दि व त इ त र ष्यं ते षां नि त्प धृतः॥ किं ते प्रा मे व नि
प धृत ए वे ति। त त्रा ने क च यो नि य म्य ते। पा द्दिक प्राप्ति ना वा त्। त था च समा न्ये ना द व

॥ २ ॥
 को ह्यरहो विहिते नित्य धारण म प्राप्संग तस्मिं विधीयते यद्वा सामान्य प्राप्ते विशेष म
 त्रै दिश्यते । इतरथा मनुच्यमान विपरीत प्रतिषेधे नित्य मः स्यात्तन्नि किंचि- नित्य म विषय
 भावा दत्रैति विधेरेवेति निश्चयः । यथा गती श्रीः सन्नया धेयं ऊरुते तदेतदा धाना दनं त
 रं नित्य धारणं । यदा चो धानो चरकात्ने गत श्री च जायते । तदा तदद्दं रं स्या यं हो मार्थ उद्धेतो
 ज्जिनित्य धिये त सर्व कर्म धितया यथा सो मा धान सो मार्थ मा ह्नु त्वा न्न यः सर्व कर्म
 धी सं त एव जवंति । नान्यदा धानं सर्व कर्मणि मृत्पृथं क्रियते । यदा पुनश्चैव लज्ज चान्न दयाः
 पुरा त्तत्कर्म धी न चा तन्ना ग्या नो राजन्य वैश्यो ग्रामिणी चादि गुणो दीयते । ब्राह्मण स्या
 पियदि वा तन्नो न्मा दादिना श्री तं विज्ञानं छिन्नं स्या स्या तदा नित्यो धारण पक्ष माश्रये
 त् । निमित्तानावावने मिति क स्या यन्ना वा त्ना ग्यो दये यदिसु न ग्रामिणी चादि स्यात् ८९

दोषजातं निमित्तमिति पुनरित्यधृतं चेत्समाश्रयेत् एतदधिका रक्षारकं कर्तृद्वारकं वं
 रूपधर्मतया प्रतिकामादिरणं नित्यधृतं च विधीयते तस्मात्कृतवतः प्रतिकामादिर
 एनाधिकारे नित्ये धारयेत् यस्तु नित्यधारणपक्षोऽङ्गीकृत्य वसरेकृतस्तीनचमात्मने
 मन्यता विस्मयिष्ये सदावेवादर्पितं मन्यः ॥ आर्चिजीन बहुविध उद्धरणं वेलायां नौकष
 सुष्ठु हति समिध्याचारवादासघातको घृल्लोचप्रवृत्तचा। न तत्कृतं बहुविध उद्धरणदि
 त्तमाणां ॥ ७ ॥ मददाहवनीयमदत्तं प्रहुरसि वं ह्यधनं आहवनीये गार्दपत्ते वा यत्र क्रयते न
 समिदनि होतवोऽत्यादि क्रते। स्तस्मान्महा इत्यग्नि होत्रस्या इत्यत्राग्नि होत्रग्रहणमथ
 सांक्रमति येपि मदस्या धानस्यष्टचा तद्दानमास्यसंपत्तये इति प्रम्या दधातीति धनं ददा
 तीत्यर्थः। प्रदोषमग्नि होत्रा प्रादाषमित्यद्ययीचा वौचित्तमर्थेति षत्तु प्रचृती निच

तित्वा। ब्रह्म ब्रह्मै प्रदोषेऽग्नि होत्र मिति सप्तमी श्रूयतो प्रवर्त्तति दोषोऽस्मिन् काले स प्रदो
 षं काले। वशी घन रुत्राणि दृष्ट्वाग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति श्रुत्ये कवाक्यं वा तत्रा तत्रादिति
 न्यत्राग्नि प्रकरणे सायमिति गम्यते प्रातर्मध्यं दिन सायमित्यपराह्ने सोयं शब्दः साया
 क्र इति चासायमोदनः सायमग्नीत्यादौ पूर्वरात्रवै सायं शं क्रियते सायमग्नि होत्रे
 प्रदोषमेव होतव्यं न कत्राणि दृष्ट्वा अन्नं तस्मै वै होतव्यं इत्यर्थः। दृष्ट्वा यथा प्रातः स्रप
 ररात्रैः पूर्वाह्ने च प्रातः शब्द प्रयोग दर्शनात् दृष्ट्वा त्रदणं नित्यमायं दृष्ट्वा यामे वप्रा
 त्ररग्नि होत्रं होतव्यमिति। दृष्ट्वा यामं रात्र्या मुखा काल इत्यर्थः। अग्नेः सुधश्चेत्याह। आ
 रवनीयोपरि आहवनीयं परित इत्यर्थः। माहिंसमलियतीत्यर्थः। एवं गार्दपं त्वं
 क्षिणाग्निं च। परितः समाग्नेऽद्रिष्ठव्यः। रुतसत्याभ्यो चाप्ययुक्तामीति सायं पृथुक्ष्मै ८

३३

आहवनीयं गार्हपत्यं दक्षिणाग्निमिति गम्यते प्र ऋतुत्वात् पुरीतिद्या स्यात् उदतिष्मि
नतिद्रवद्रथेण। द्रथीवा तश्चानाशाहुदकं अतिप्रसिद्धः। सोयं ग्रहणं शक्यमकहुं उत्तर
हरेत्रे प्रातर्ग्रहेणास्मायमेवायं मंत्रः स्यात्। एवं तद्युग्निदात्रादन्यत्र हस्ते। पौसेम् हनादि
रपि उद्धरणवत् स्यात्। द्यौर्मन्त्रे त्वा। यदि वसंता यज्जाततिवसंत यदुपा
न हतं वसंतं तदप्यत्रापियथा स्यादिति। अन्यत्र नुपदा र्थधर्मत्वादन्य स्य धर्मनान्यत्रेपा
कुर्यात्। परकालधर्मावतौ। यदि प्राहृषियजैति तेव तथ। द्विवसंते षिवरुणप्रघासे षपि
द्विरुप स्तरणं प्राहृषिपशुबंधस्यापि सत्तदुपस्तरणमिति तदैव विचार्यमेतत्। सायं प्रा
तः शश्विहकर्मनामधेयचैपिसंगच्छेता यता। सत्यरुताभ्यां चति प्रातः। पयुद्वतीति वदते
आहवनीयमित्यादिवा। अग्नीनुपरि स्तृणाति ननु परि स्तृणातीत्येतावत्पुरुक्तैः। अग्नीनामेव

ता

परिस्तरणं प्रकृतं तच्चास्यात् किमन्निग्रहणेन उच्यते । निग्रहणे सति किंचैदाशिकः
संदिग्धं अन्निग्रहणं किं न धर्मकं परिस्तरणं परिस्तरणं पारिस्तरणं पारिस्तरणं पारिस्तरणं
निग्रहणं प्रकरणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं
तु गतं प्रियाः स्थापनं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं तत्र यन्निग्रहणं
तत्परिस्तरणं मात्रं मेव सोमं तत्रैवायणीयादिषु कितं हि सुं धनाद्यं पि स्यात्वापि टयज्ञो
मस्तव एवमात्रं वाचनीकं प्रवर्ग्य विद्वांसस्तरेण वत्तयद्येवंपरिधिरस्य समाग्रनिषेध
परोपनिषमन्निग्रहं संसृष्टीति प्रेषः स्यात् तयस्त्रयो गविशोकाचारं नानुनान्ये वाच
निकानि मन्यंत तस्यान्निमन्नी तन्निः संसृष्टीत्यप्यसत्क संमात्रं मिवात्र वाचनिकः प्रा
प्तो तिस्रणा र्थः । न पात्राणि प्रोक्तोति नाज्जं निर्वपति नोपपत्तं तत्र त्वन्निघारयत्येवं जीयकेषु

न॥ गितिषाधुयो गविशेकादिषु पुनर्वचने वान्यो निप्रा योनियमो वा सति प्रयोजने जा
 पको वा पुनर्वदिः स्यात् तन्निश्चित्य विहृतिस्तदनुसारेण भुंक्षतपयुक्त एवेति स्थितिः का यः
 ॥ क्वापश्चादाहवनीयस्योदग्रानुदन्तग्रहणादन्यत्रास्तरणे प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यं दन्तैक्य
 ववैक्यात्रिकाणीति सिद्धे स्तरणादुत्तरतो गादप्यस्य सस्तरणं कार्येन नित्यं तत्तदप्य
 सादनसमिधादीनामुपकल्पानां उत्तरतो वस्समुपसृजति तथाहो मित्रशरणं कर्तव्यं
 यथोत्तरत उपचारो गोददने विहाये विष्णुतिष्ठनरुह रत उक्तं सोका यदि प्रयोज
 ने नान्यत्राग्निशालासाम्नादिति प्राप्नु रंवी प्राप्नु रंवी गादौ गृध्रमुपसीदत्तं पविशति श्र
 यत्ति त्पां दोदयत्पान्यं स्रज्जुददज्जु र्वीहवा मन्मथेदारुमये वात्रैव सिक्केन दोहयति
 स्वयंदौष्ट्ये च शस्त्रोत्तरानूजदप्नु रंवी वेति पक्षोत्तरं अपोटागादप्यत्पादने रूदीवउ

क्षीतानं गगनवस्तुजितित्यवने स्था। अत्रिं प्रपो ह्या पसा यमाणे। इडाया स्पदं
 अक्षिप्रयत्नं गगनवस्तुजितित्यवने स्था। अत्रिं प्रपो ह्या पसा यमाणे। इडाया स्पदं
 तत्परिमाणं मेव श्रयितव्यं। नान्यदर्थमुद्धरयितव्यं। ततो न्यूनस्य तु कर्त्तव्यं।
 पिद्विशिष्टवाच्यतां नापद्येत। पूर्वस्याहुतायां स्क्वादा न्यूनं दुग्धे निवचनात्। पुनरु
 यक्त्या उन्नयनमिष्टं प्रवेत्नीते। अग्नीहोतस्य अहविष्टं मन्यमानेनेम एतस्मादेव नि
 गात्। यवदाने अतिभूते नष्टे दुष्टे। बौहविषिपुनरुत्पादनात्। कृत्तिनस्तु पुनरायतनात्।
 न स्यात्। द्विष्टावदुष्टे वेति सर्वत्र दृष्टान्तार्थक्यं स्यात्। तैषी। उक्तवस्त्वेत्यवेक्षेत। अप्यमा
 णपयोन्नर्गता। अप्यक्तवत्ते। उक्तवस्त्वेति ब्रुवचनात्। तासां बौहवममात्रि संतापे
 नो ह्यलनावस्थाया माधिक्यमाशा स्यते। अष्टाधिक्यमन्य उक्तवस्त्वेति उददं प्रजया

ए

पञ्चजिन्मियाप्रमित्येकवाक्यच्चात्तयथायूयंश्रयमाणेपयसिउद्भवितै।एवमहंप्रज
यापञ्चमिन्मियासं।दृष्टेनेवमप्येनापमानेनादृष्टेनेत्पतौदद्याज्जयोरधिश्रयाणंनञवेति
इप्रमितायनसंबंधमंत्राभावात्॥छ।उदंप्रजयाचउल्लुकेनईषदग्नेकाश्वेनतापयत्
चदीपतीत्यष्टी।दरस्तोउदक्खिंदुनोदस्तौकेनाससुदंतंउहृतवंप्रतिनयतिवारयतिमि
श्रुज्यो।पुनरवदीपयतिउल्लुकेनामितापयति।पुनःशब्दादंतस्तिरक्षौ।तच्छणेनाच्छणे
नौल्लुकेनत्रीनवारानुपदिस्वतींजिंकरोतिपयज्जिवेतिनपुंसकं।तृपाठे।बहुव्रीहि
रापयोमिधियते।उदेदिवेदिंप्रजउदनुदीचीनमुहासयति।उत्तारयति।वर्षपंथानंऊव
नूविदधत्।एवंचसंकयउहासयति।उत्तारयति।वर्षपंथानंऊवन्नुविदधत्।एवंचमं
येउहासहृत्मीनिदृष्टै।प्रत्युतंउन्यं।ऋगानुप्रत्युदतिगादपत्यंप्रतिगमयति।वर्ष
मलोपयति।नोपनसमूहंनंचकारोनेर्थकं॥यद्वाप्रतिशब्दानुकषणार्थश्चिकाज्ञ

रुतश्च त्रतिक्कललोपयेद्दक्षिणा निष्पत्तिरर्थी उदयुद्धासना त उद निष्ठां हित त्रते । दम्भा
उदासति पयसा यवाग्वाज्येन वा जुहोतीति प्रत्येकं पूयसेत्यादि निः संबध्यते । वाशष्टश्र
दध्ना वा जुहोति पयं म्या वा जुहोतीत्येवं केन संबंधित्वेन दं सूत्रमभिहितं च गो दोह
नात्पूर्वमिव वक्तव्यं स्यात् क्रमात् त श्यापयसेति किमर्थं प्रकृतं तमेव पयः । प्राजु
स्वीमुपसीदनीयतः । त श्यापि पयसे प्रवं वक्तव्यं प्रकृतं तत्त्वादेवा किमर्थं दध्नाति प्र वमु
क्तं । उच्यते । अथैष्य एणदि स्रं बंधेन तत्प्रतिषेधां र्थमिहा निधानं । पयोन ह एण गो वे
दनादि धर्मो विनापि पयस्याहो तद्यंत श्या निधानं च । यत्पयोन स्यादिति रूग्यो ।
स्यादिति स्यात् । त श्या अति सूति सूत्रलिंगं होमाय पुनरवनीय पयोन दध्नादि त्पर्थी ।
॥ ७ ॥ अन्यानि ह्येति वाक्यो तस्य तत्प्रत्यत्वर विधानार्थी । तु वा दादध्नादिति हण
पूर्वकृतं तु व्यविक्ल्यार्थं दध्नादि निः पयस्याः इतर श्यापयस्यो । स न वेदध्नादयो वि

विज्ञायेरन्नायत्पयोन स्या के ननु कुयादित्येवमादि। विकल्प सरूपाग्नि दोत्र प्रशं साक्षा
का शो दे सत्पवचनादधि गंतव्यां ऋजं वा विशेषात्। माद्विषस्या शिष्टमक्षयैः पितृविष्टनेव
तोऽस्मिन्पुष्टतमा कुरपाय दक्षिणा ग्रावो ज्योतिर्विना यत्प्राक्ताक्त मेव पुत्र स्याज्या यन्नुक्तं
मीति मन्यता य वा यु सं दु लो द क सि ह्य पे ट्या य व द्भूणे दिक सि ह्य वा ऋषय वा र्थ पे रि ग्र वे
ऋषि प्र सि ह्ये रन्ना वा तं ॥ छा द ध्या ज्य यो र धि प्र य एं प्राप्नोति प र्थ नि क र ए व त् त नि षि धा
यं नि र्देशा द्य व ति ष्ठे र न्नि ति नि र्दि श ति द ध्या ज्य यो रि ति ऋ नि ता प न ग् द णै प र्थ नि क र
ए ण स्य नु ज्ञा ना र्थं उ ड्ग वे श्ले स्यं वे द स ए मां न्न ए स नि प त्पो प का र के ण सि ता प न मं त्र स्यै क
वा ऋ ख्वा दा रा डु प का र क म य नि ता प नं न न्न वि ष्य ति कि म नि ता प न प्र ति बे धे न उ च्य ते
नि ष्य ज्यो ति र सी ति य द नि ता प नं त स्या र्थं प्र ति षे धो वा च नि क ॥ ननु ऋ व दी प न म दृ ष्टा
यं ति त प र्थ नि क र ए व त् उ च्य ते पु न र व दी प य ति षु नः शु द्धा द क्षि ता प न मे व त दि ति द्या स्या तं ।

न नदधाद्योरिति नियमाद्यंति न तिल तंडुल सोम मीसादीनि दधादिनि निविकल्प्यते
 अत्र न्यादि कल्पानां तंडुलकर्म शक्यौ प्रति निक्षिप्रि ति अत्र न्यादौ लु कल्पः प्रति निधि रिति समा
 नाद्यः। यदि नर्वन विद्यदिति प्रकृते माश्रय कर्मि पदो पबंधस्तु तंडुलादीनां शुण धिकार चोड
 न्यबलत्वे कारणं। आ यश्चि तैपिकर्मि पदो पबंधो दृश्यात्। पशुकामो मावास्या मिष्टा
 सार्वनि सन्वत्सानपाकरोतीति किमु तशुण्यस्तंडुलादि प्रति निधीना मिति। तथा चोप
 सं हंतां सर्वाजो दे सत्वं सत्त्वे तु दो मीति पयो दधा दीनां पशुकामादि एक एव हो मे न्मु ख्य
 द्रष्टेणु उन्नय विधि स्योक्तः। मर्वंच तंडुलेषु सस्य यदियवायूः पण्यो दिय तरेन
 तदा दध्ना वा तंडुले स्यात्। यथा गवि विद्यमाना यामपि स्यु दिय चरया दध्ना ज्येन व
 शी घंस्तु कुट्टया। न च येनैव सायं कुतं द्रष्टेण तनेव प्रातर्हति यमिति सूत्रमस्ति। नापि परि
 यवाप्ते तांशान्ति रात्रि त्र्यदणमक्रोतिकं लिंगे। एता मिति स्त्री लिंगे नोपवस्य कालस्य

परमशीत। रात्रि मिति तस्यैव विशेषानुवादे वा कप्ररणा नैकांततः प्रातरपियवा
गंस्तु च धिउं चामा। न च यवा सुविधानं परं तथा च श्रुतिः। नितो रात्रीपयसा त्रिदोत्र
जुद्धाति क्रमानाश्च पयो न लज्जत यथा न्यस्य देव ताये च स मन्वस्ये दीयते तादृक्। तस्मा
तयवा च्या त्रिदोत्रं जुद्धोतीति च तौ यवाग् यद्गामुपलक्षणां दध्यादीनां। पिडनाश दो
त्रेषु न रज्जिदोत्रं स्यात्। तच्चो निष्टं प्रयोजकानां वा तपि उ स्यात्तस्मात्तैर्ह लानि स्तुल्य
प्रमाणं विशिष्टं तद्भुतं प्रथमकल्पे सति तदुक्तं। प्रथमकल्पस्य यौतुकल्पे नवत्त
तो न मां पशयिकं तस्य दुः। मिति विद्यते फलमिति सोमै न यद्विद्धुं याधौ किं मन्निषवैक
यनिधि श्रयेत् सोमं तथा दृष्ट्वा। मां तु यवा शूवदधि श्रयितव्यं। ननु जालमप्यश्रय
वचनात्। वसमानेन त इत्थं पश्य प्रनिमात्रमुपस्थानकाली नत्वा तु ननु नदितस्मिन्नौ

माः संपचंतियस्मिन्नाहुतीर्द्धतीतीतितकष्टं गार्दप्येधिस्रयेदुच्यतेऽर्थवादेशां
 नदितस्मिन्नाग्नेमांसं संपचतीतिवर्त्तमानापदेशादुपसंहारवाक्यवाच्याविधवाक्योदक्लिणो
 व्रकरणान्मांसपाकप्रतिषाधा। माः संतुनपत्विस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितियदिपनीसंवस्पर
 दीक्षादिव्याधीयततदानात्सयूपचित्किंसापदैदक्षिणात्रौश्रपणेऽस्थानापत्याधमनि
 भातश्राप्राप्तिपूर्वत्वात्त्रातिषधानां मांसं तु न पच्युस्तस्मिन्नत्रावितिन्यायवि
 दः। श्रीवराहस्तु एतस्मादवेमांसपाकनिषेधाद्दक्षिणात्रौपाकयज्ञानादस्माद्विषणं
 पित्रुपावतिप्राप्तमांसस्यैवनिषेधादन्यथा। कास्तीतिगम्यते। यजमानचिकित्सायंत्रिमां
 संश्रपयितव्यामवाग्निदोत्रार्थमांसवत्। आदवनीयवपावच्चोपिचाषष्ठश्रपणपावत्
 वनीयएवातव्योनित्वादुच्यते। तथाच श्रुतिरुपयजांलाम। स्वयेवै सर्वः पशुयदेत्यत्र।

द्वनीयातुदुयातुदुयादस्वग्रस्यातुपञ्चप्रपणादाप्तेमादयंति तेनस्वग्र्यःसर्वापञ्च
नितिआदवनीयेएवोपयजोहृत्येतेस्वग्र्यचायप्रशोरित्यर्थः।निएप्रहरक्षेनिष्टभनिष्टपति
मनोत्तापयतीत्यर्थःस्त्रकृस्त्रवमिति।समुदितस्यनिष्टगनं समाहरनिष्टशातुस्त्रवेसमि
धंउपसंगयम्यक्रावउपस्थिषितांसंष्टलुसमिधंऊनैष्यामीत्फकुचोन्नयामितिप्रातःउदय
वाल्स्त्रामन्त्रयजमानमित्यर्थःउक्रुस्त्रंवात्रादणंस्वययंदोमंपक्षेपिमंत्रस्याहुकुरादवनीये
मिति।वत्त्रिडाएकैकेनमंत्रणेतिउच्चातेनयत्पञ्चत्रिदोत्रद्ववणामुपरिष्ठादवतीत्य
र्थः।उत्तरमुत्तरंपूर्वस्माद्धूयासंबहुतरंउत्तरयतीति।संबंधः।पूर्वमुत्तरमंष्ट्रस्त्रेपिपूर्वपि
क्षयाभूयस्त्रंस्यातन्निवृत्त्यर्थंक्षत्रादणंभूयांसमितिस्त्रचविशेषणद्वारकंलिंगंभूयश्रि
द्वयुक्तंक्रियाविप्राषणंवेनासर्वान्वासमानुनयतीतिवर्त्तता।मुद्विगंष्ट्रवैवतइदं।द्ववान
अग्निमृशतीस्पृशतीत्यर्थः।इदमुनामदेतिशेषं।यतौघृत्नीतंअग्निमृशतीतीतिपञ्चमेयं

त्रियदं ब्रह्म सादयति उत्तरतागादपि तस्य संस्तीर्णत्वं । सामर्थात् तत्रैवोनीतं तत्रैव वसा-
 येत् प्राक्तनं दानं पितृणां । प्रतेरवैति श्रुतेः । दशहोत्राग्निहोत्रं । विस्तिष्कमिति दशहोत्रे
 त्वेव द्यति । तेन प्राक्तनं सादितं अग्निहोत्रं दशहोत्रं द्रव्यं उपरिष्ठावस्कगदंड-
 समिधमुपसयमोर्वतिरिक्तं वीहीति समया उपरिष्ठादित्यादीति कर्तव्यतया द्रव्यं संस्क्रि-
 यतोऽसमया सामीध्येनान्विगादपि तदुदरतिवदति न केवलं प्रणीतमपि च पवित्रीकरणं । अ-
 न्नोऽसामीध्येन दरणं मंत्रयोनिचादन्नयत्तिपवित्रमस्त्रिष्वान्नविततमंतरा ब्रह्मेति तत्तन्मो-
 निवेदयेत्यग्निहोत्रगरीयसीति श्रुतः । स्वादाग्नये वैश्वानरा समयाग्नेः ऋवयवाचनो-
 ऽर्पणं । तिवायवे चैक उद्यतिः । अयुष्मयि छेति पश्चादादवनीयस्य येदमग्नि-
 स्तुतास्तेषु सादयति । एषा ते अग्नेऽसमिति । अथादादवनीयेऽधो न्यस्यति । प्राण्यापात्रेभ्य-
 आकोष्ठवायुनासिकाभ्यां निःसार्यः । अनेन उपनस्ते वायुप्रवेशयेत् । अथान्यादितच्छाद-

संविकरणं निःस्पृहं मीलयेत् यस्यै देवता यै होष्ट्य न्न वतितां देवतां चिंतयेत् तत्र प्र
 त्यक्षं वा नः सूर्यस्य च मूर्त्यं चैवाद्यस्य सुनामा निज न कर्म सुणो मदाभागा तु
 सारां सूर्यं च रूपं स्मरेत् प्रजापते रप्रत्यक्षं वा नागमादि निरेवावगता तदूरूपं ध्याये
 त् कर्मजन्मानं प्राप्नुयान् श्रद्धां न श्रद्धां वा ५ त्कं शरीरं कैः शो देवता स ब्रह्म मवासा यं प्राणा
 पानं मिमीलेने ध्याने मनः प्रसीदतीत्यदिष्टानि प्राणादिति ह्युत्पलसमिधमभिजुहोति
 श्चोनी क्लृप्तं तीवासमिधमभिजुहोति मूलाष्टं तुले परिमाले तं क्ते यद्युन समिद निहोत्वा ५
 त्कं कं तदिधनमभिदो तमस्य निधयं श्येनी कुमद पत्रा नावा हि पसतापे न ततां समिधं क
 नंति वा निजुदाति न् लुवे स्वयित्यादिसिद्धं वचैभि यच्छेति दन्नेषु स्मृता उदगग्र स्तृतेषु दन्ने
 शुक्रजापते पशून् यच्छेति गादपि तं श्रावृत्त्या साम च्यमिति नृग्रीवानं गमात्रेण श्रवज्ञान

निः

निः

स्त्वनचा तप्रजापतये स्यादेति मनसोत्तरं न्यसी उत्तरं द्वितीयां न च तत्रादिक संबंधे
 न। इयं देवता पश्य पश्येत्पादि श्रुतात्। न्यसी उत्तरं अङ्गतिर्न्यो दोतद्योतिवचनात् स्वादाका
 रमपि मनसा कुर्यादिति कुर्यात् बहिर्न स्यमंत्रस्य मानसत्वात् प्रजापतये स्यादेति तद्यथा
 श्रुतिः। यत्र ईषी वज्रं दोतिमनसा च तत्र मिथुनमिति शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमना नो समया सामीचे
 नाग्नेत्री न्वा रनुदंड उदङ्मुख उद्दिशति कुतो छिष्टस्त्रक— चिः सनि सज्जति अथ वा उदङ्मुखि
 त्फदं श्रुस्वी स्फचं उद्दिशति कां दसो लिङ्गं विनक्ति यत्तयाः। अथा उदने यथा नयति तयो
 द्दिशति कां दसमुदङ्गि त्फुद्दिङ्गं अथ वा शिष्टान्नयिष्ठमिति पूर्वमत्रै ए सैव धृतो शिष्टा
 न्नयिष्ठमुत्तरं उद्दिशति ननु च दोमोत्र पूर्वं ततश्च न्यसी ऽशिष्टान्नयिष्ठमवशेषयेदिति सूत्रे
 त्रयितद्य स्यात्। नैष दोषान्दिया वत्तु च्या पूर्वने कल्पयति न्नयिष्ठं शेषयिष्यामीति त

वतुहोमार्थं न पारयामस्तस्मात्तद्गुणमात्रं न स्पृशेत्प्रमाणं यथा संमील्य दसतीवारवंती
 यमत्रिष्टोमसामन्तत्रायात्यवमिष्टुजुहोतीति स्यात्तुलितोऽस्यैतावाऽऽवाचीनं केयदिदम्माधा
 संखद्वयमानं द्रव्यं तव तर्कवाऽवमाष्टि योगेनाऽऽवैतम्पस्यैनिष्टकोवाचीनिपदेन
 मीनरुक्मात्तुऽर्जोऽवित्त्वं हिऽऽधऽऽरभ्योर्ध्वसंखं संमाष्टिजदगुरुं शब्देन गतचोतौ
 बोमाष्टीति कृष्टायादिवाशब्देन दुष्टाऽऽधानऽऽतथाचोक्तं न पुनारस्यस्योदात्तो नो
 रूपकस्योदरक्तोरूपे संपदोनशां प्राप्ताधानात्प्रत्येतो न लिङमिदं प्रक्षेपिते दोमस्य
 अन्त्ये तु स्क्रवं अवसृजं त्यक्तजं तिचदशददष्टकल्पनाप्रयं गातुको दोष इति चेत्
 दत्तेषु लोपो नोपपद्यतेऽप्युर्मयि क्वेत्यदगदडे धेवदनेष्टित्यथा सिद्धे शब्दतिक्त्रमेका
 रणानावात्तुर्ब्रध्नी किंचिन्वा एौऽस्तिष्ठमवंमार्जना स्क्रुदोमजन्मनालेपप्रदण
 क्लितं तु न दाहामालपस्यानावादयिनुममेतदधिश्च यएवतु प्राचीनावीतं न चोऽऽ

लेहन्त्र

पविचान्त्रचे। हलिदराणशेषनिनयने। पितस्मानं। प्रकाशतीति। अंशुलीरूपमध्यमा।
आचम्याचम्या। यद्यामधुपर्कवत्। इतरेस्मनितीदृनिः। प्राषले। हलिद्वयानुरवेप्रवेष्ट
यंति। अटीत्फच्यते। नउदस्तेनसृष्कस्तस्यैवंमिच्छंति। गंधर्वैराजितान्तिवर्तताः।
निमिष्टायामालिच्योतिनेलेदोतिनिः। शशोऽनर्घकोवादांभेः। प्रक्षाल्यत्वास्मकुक्षालनमेवकुनिनीय
तो। सन्निधानात्। इतरशोदकंपुनः। पुनरादायनिनयनं स्यात्। नचिवयुक्तैर्दन्तैः। प्रक्षाल्य
दकमासिच्यवत्तिनयेदिति। तद्यानि। द्विष्टया। अपिचत्स्तीग्रहणेनसर्पिषीलिकामंत्र
निबृत्पथेन। लपप्रक्षालनमेवावगम्यते। लेपसंसृष्टस्यैर्पिपीलिकसंप्रदेयवास
काशात्। इतरथात्स्तीग्रहणमनर्घकं स्यान्निःसारयति। संबधोर्मंत्रस्यनिनयनेका

सं२

पदि

प्राप्तिशेषं तशतकर्मप्राप्तिः शङ्कतशतकर्मोतिरेमं त्रातगन्मानैतस्मीमेव स्यात्तुल्यः। इति म
 उदीचीदिजनिष्ठनिनयेनेनवतिप्राणममृतेत्रापदद्यत्सौसेनामंत्रज्ञदाचंविचनंऽप्यन्निदोत्रा
 दवर्णीप्रतप्रातनिष्ठपतीत्यथीदृतरथादस्येताविपय्योवावातेदाहसंवाप्रतथाउतयत्तुल्यो
 यंमोदीचीपदं। मंत्रवेणापरयोः। क्रवत्रदृगमन्निदोत्रदवर्णीनिष्टत्यथंइतिकर्तव्यतां होमस्यादो
 अमेगृह्यतशतस्क्रवाहं प्रित्यसंस्मृत्प्रविनागेर्दृशेषु। समप्रविनागेदि। अर्धस्क्रवमिति स्म
 त्। तथाचाह। स्वाहेतिशेषमिति। इतरथास्वाहेतिहितीयमिति स्यादवमित्यनुवृत्तेः। न
 मतेऽनन्नास्क्रवाहं अदणं दक्षिणा नौदो मध्यशांस्वातरादुपहतौ। अहोमोवापर्योरिति तुल्यो
 विकल्पः। अथस्वायत्तत्वा अग्निदोत्रशेषेनेष्टेदुष्टेन प्ररणातादर्थ्येनेदुष्ट्यातायावावा
 दिवानपुनः संसृज्यदिति। अथ वस्मिन्तविकल्पः। याप्रथमाग्निदोत्रायदुष्ट्यात्सोदक्षिणा
 प्रथमाग्निदोत्रे गोदोदनमष्ट्रिययोवानियम्यते। उजि।

परिक्रयार्थचिन्तनप्राप्तचादिदवचनित्यमेवाग्निहोत्रेऽप्राप्तिर्नवतिद्विरण्णादिदक्षिणापरकन
कादासयद्रायावतिः अग्निहोत्राशेषस्य दक्षिणाश्रितासप्रथमाग्निहोत्रेऽलिंगयति ननु प्र
थमाग्निहोत्रया दुस्य त्सा दक्षिणेऽभयनियामवाक्यमेव स्यात्। णर्बहे च चास्त्रे बाय
दोषः। यद्वायं। प्रथमायाग्निहोत्रा यदुस्य दिति पादिकोऽनुवादः। अतएव पयो वेति नि
दर्शनं दध्यादः। राजन्यस्याग्निहोत्रैर्धामुके स्यानेत्य राजन्यस्य राजस्यैवं द्विः अजिहोत्रं प्र
त्यहोतव्यं रुचिजा। स ननु स धामुका। धर्मशीलबलिकरशुल्कप्रतिभोगदंडजीवी योनन
वतीत्यर्थः। पवीं स्थितरस्य। इतरस्य बलिकरशुल्कप्रतिभोगदंडजीवी न वतीत्यर्थः। राज
न्यस्य संबंधाग्निहोत्रं यवसुहोतव्यं रुचिजा। एवं पौर्णमास्य मावां स्याच्चेद्यतोऽनक्तं च नित्यं ए
वाग्निहोत्रं ब्राह्मणाय नित्यं बल्यदितीवी राजा दद्यात्तथा मुक्तो निवदद्यात्। नित्यं होमस्य
स्थाने न केददा न।

स्य विधानात् अणं राजन्यस्य विधानात् अणं राजन्यस्य विधानात् कर्त्तरि वेति षष्ठी राजन्येति
 धातुर्केण नित्यं होतव्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं पर्वणी तरेणान्यदा रुचिता एवं ब्राह्मणस्यैव होतव्यमिति क
 र्त्तरि षष्ठी ब्राह्मणैव यजमानेन होतव्यं मन्त्रिहोत्रं इत्यादिवा एष यज्ञा ऊन्य इत्यादिवा
 स्मरणमत्र ननु विश्वस्य कथं धातुर्क राजन्यस्य च द्रष्टव्यं तस्य दृष्टिर्ना विधातुर्धातुर्क
 दण म तं त्रा राजन्यस्येति च तस्य ब्राह्मणस्यापि वस्ति रवृत्तिर्जा वि का इतरस्य पूर्वस्व
 ति द्रष्टव्यं धातुर्कस्यैव ब्राह्मणस्य नित्यं तथा चालिंगं स तं च सत्यमग्निहोत्रं ब्राह्मणस्य
 स तं सत्यं तस्मात् ब्राह्मणस्यैव होतव्यमिति ब्राह्मणस्य तु एविशेषा अये ए नित्यहोत्रे कि
 धीयते तथा ब्राह्मणवत यो राजन्यो वर्त्तति तस्य नित्यहोम उक्तो न तु जातिमात्रा अये
 णा अथो यरु तमिव सत्यमिव चरेत्तस्य होतव्यमिति अत्र ते अथ ब्राह्मणस्य तदिति ना
 = मधिकार एव नास्ति

बाह्य ए नो दिप्राति त्पा त्पा य र धर्मे गो जीव नूदि स द्यः प तति ज्ञा तित इ तिव च ना त् त दु क्तं। औ र
 द का न्वा णि का नू त या का स्क्क शी ल वा नू प्रे ष्या न्वा ह्म णि कां श्चै व वि प्रा नू स्र व दा च रे दि
 ति अथ न्नि रा त्र पं च रा त्रा दि प द्दे हो मो वा च क थ ना य दि वा ना तु र स्य ऋ त्रि जा दो त द्या क्रो णि
 त स्य च वि द वि दार प्र व स तश्च। अथ स मा रो य स मा रो यान्निं प्र व से त् त्रा पि द श पि स
 मा स यो र्ग षं त् स मा यं प्रा त र न्नि हो त्र म। नि मं थ नं न वा र्थि ता त दु क्तं। ए व मे वा द र द र
 न मे ष्य न्ने स मा रो य य त्फ पा व रो दे ति च का व के वा फ क्तं। वा मे ल द्द ण घ द्दु त्पे ति। ए व
 रा दी प्र व स तः प द्दे हो मे स्ति य स्यो भ य म स न वि ट् दे हो त त्त्र हो त्र स्य प णि वा दः क्रि या
 न तः प्र व स तो य स्य कु ल्वा सं स्था य स ष्ठि ब्र जे। त स्या नि हो म वे ला यां प ची ते व गृ हो स्ति बा ए
 प द्दे हो म स मा रा णो गृ दे वा य दि वा ध्वा नि। क रो ति मे ल्पे बा णी चो यु ज्य ते वी र द्दु त्प या। स

दृढबलीव

ये प्रातश्च धिष्ण्येष्टु प्रत्यक्षा यस्थनाग्रयः। यदि च प्रितल्लिगे न जाष्ये तस्मज्ज तग्वाः स्म
मेकाशेषत्फक्कात्पुनराधयमुक्तवान्। अषिचाण्डुग्रदेषु पक्षाद्दामस्पपविद्योत्प्रतिनि
धिचाप्रतिनिधिश्चानित्याद्दामसाधनोपचारेण भवति ततश्च यथेतरस्य ब्राह्मणयज्ञ
कृदानेन प्रवर्तितरालाद्दामसंपत्तिः। एवं होमसाधनापचारभक्तदाननटुतेन विषयतिष्ठ
यो ब्राह्मणयैवास्यागताष्टदंष्ट्रादरेयुस्मक्षुते मेवास्याग्निदोत्रं प्रवर्तीति श्रुते॥ ७॥ द
शावरायात्रीरुषिवासादधनः। अथास्यन्नाधान्यचमोष्यन्वाच्यङ्कुत्फपयोगीयद्र
यंगळतस्तत्तृदीयाप्रवमेतत्प्रव्रजेत्। आपादुत्पान्य दनुपयोगितत्पक्वैर्त्पथ्यः। स
ब्रह्मिबिबुदुचोनुवादः। पादिकानावश्यबदकोनचैकः संभवति प्रातरग्निदोत्राद्दंष्ट्र
सत्यादवती औत्राणीयेतनिगद्येति पठिवाहुतिं। अनादप्राश्न्येननुदोति। प्राश्ना

अस्य यजमाने स्यां पक्का ब्राह्मण यदा तद्यः।

एतस्मै क ई। कंचै तत्। प्रयास्यन्निति विशेषेणा। दशयदृणाञ्च योवो बिलोयदिप्रतिव्या
 तिनतदुल्लसतीति यदं न्यं तं तान ऋष्टावरा संस्था। तदपि दश संस्था तद्यन्त्रा हि वासाः
 स्यन्ति मित्रे धनार्थियाः -- वरानि मित्रे मित्यवरा अदृणा संस्था विशेषेणार्थं तिनयकोनो बि
 बा प्रयास्यन्नुदाति। सहधन इति यदि सपरिच्छदः याति तदा दुहुया। न्नुपंच स्वाः शरीर
 मात्रेण गवा तददरा गच्छति हि गीदनी वा। जूता इति द्वितीया मेतु वादः॥ सहधनस्यैत्रया स्य तज
 विधाने। इदानीं व्यालिनस्योच्यते प्रवस्यते। नार्यया प्रकृष्टे दाशयदावसेत प्रयोजनवशात्
 इदावा नार्यया सह तदा प्रयास्यं समारोश्यानी नू प्रवसति। अरणि अदृणं नियमायं मित्र
 निधानेन समारोच्य मित्र रद्वयदावारणी रग्निनिः समारोयिताः यदि गतश्रीः सवन्निस्वीनिति
 सार्वप्राधारण कान्निप्रायं बहुवचनं च नोपपद्यते। स्मादपहृते कस्मिन्निगादपेत्प्रविति एण

= निक्षिप्त्वा निक्षिप्त्वा २

आगमो वैदः ३

निक्षिप्तेन च त्रिष्वपि वदन् तिनष्टो कपाच्छां समाशेषं ते परावरं ण्योऽतिवचनमास्ति
यातः प्रपन्नं यद्विद्यासंक्रियैव दाह्युनक्तं गणप्रचत्ती दादादीनि संक्षेपदा ग्वत्यर्थः
प्रवस्यं समाशेषयतीति वाक्यशेषः आत्मनि वा समाशेषयति वाशब्द आगमनमूचन
यः निखविकल्पार्थः पात्रदाहान् द्विषात्राणि प्रविष्टाद्यापुनः पात्रादर एभुक्तं । तस्मादस्य
यस्य निगितस्यास्वायं विधिः पाक्षिकौ द्रष्टव्यः । न तस्य शरीरेण स देपात्राणां दाहः । क्रतो
जीवताधि समाशेषात्संस्थानमीनस्तत्राज्ञानेनोपचारं गदजवनी क्रतौ नैरोधः । सम
यस्यार्थवशायावदनीतावदन्निक्षेत्रं नियोगउक्तं । तदुक्तं । यदो वै जीयते यदा त्तिमाकु
तप्याग्निदोत्रं संतिष्ठत इति नीयतीतवसादीयते आत्तिद्याधि दध्वा ज्वाहैरथस्मावादाश
मावाश्च नोप्यिया मग्निदात्रं दग्धा आत्मनेवागतयः समाशेषोऽपि तास्फरक्षिदिवार्षत्रा
त्माना यज्ज्ञायाजायत क्रताः । स्मृतिश्च यत त्वदं शरीरस्य यस्य नाम पातति दिति ज्ञार्थय

सद्धर्माच्चरितस्य। इतिवचनात्पद्यतेयस्यानित्यं जायत इति प्रवक्ष्यन् हलत उप तिष्ठते।
 वक्ष्यन्नुच्यते यस्य गृहदन्तत्रात्रिवक्ष्यतिसदयामेन प्रयासस्तस्मिन् नृदनिहोमकालो
 अगमिष्यति। इतरथादिदेवस्योवापस्वानंतेचाप्रवसति। हन्यादोतावत ह त उपस्था
 नः स्यात्। अदिर्बुद्धत्वादिनिनिगदसिद्धा नितिष्ठन्नुजपतीति प्रनियमस्यात्तिष्ठतो बोध
 विष्टस्य च विनिवृत्तिषु ते अदृष्टास्त्विष्टा। पूर्वणो ग्रायणं कुर्वत व सं ते यवानां शर
 त्रीहीणं शरदिव सं ते पर्वणि अत्रायणं कर्तव्यं यवैर्वसंते। ब्रीहिभिः शरद्विषवीविशेषणः
 तृशिष्टं पर्ववाक्या यं विदितमवचति यद्विषुमः पर्वणात्रायणं कुर्वीतेति वाक्यं तदा
 संतयवानां शरदित्रीहीणमिति नियमार्थं स्यात्। शशिष्टं पर्वत्र दृष्टं परि संस्थाना
 यं पूर्वपक्षादः। अत्रापकस्येष्टानवस्याश्रीयां नैदं द्रव्यांतरं। उतपत्तिशिष्टानां श्रीस्याद

नांशुणोऽत्रपाकस्येति एकवचनं श्यात्यादिविवक्षया तव स्याश्रीयादिति श्रुतिः क्रमेण
हतीवक्ष्यति न वा शनमिति तस्य द्युक्तं ध्यं कालात्तेजति क्रमान्न वा शनैवातिपत्तौ संके
तस्य सिद्धिमात्रं निर्वपणदुपवमश्याहारम्यनउक्ष्मेचिंद्रमसीत्यादौ स तावमात्रे स्यात्
देनउसर्वेपवस्यस्य यावस्य हतं तावत्कत्रिंशतिदेशतदिति ॥ ७ ॥ अत्रेद्रान्निर्वपति
चैस्त्रदेवानघावापृष्टिवीयाशरदिसोमायश्यामाकानामन्यस्योपाश्र्यांऽन्यस्मिन्
श्रद्धिअयणोऽवसरेदवतानां दविविशेषैः संबंधावगतोऽदृष्टवता संबंधोऽत्र इति श्र
न्यापान्नीविधातुं अन्यशृष्टसमानजातीयापेक्षौ दृष्टव्यः ॥ अन्यं पशुमालजते तत एव मय
स्योऽस्त्रप्यस्थियां पात्र्याप्तदसत्सु र्पद्वयं स्यात् ॥ दृष्टं तच्च स्यात् वचनात् न वा तच्चेत एके
नेव उषफलीकरणविभोक्तसिद्धिर्नियमादृष्टाश्चित् श्रुत्स्वलोदेः तस्माद्देदमात्राव

वशद्वेयद्याकाष्टमुपलमन्यततहृत्स्वपित्रीऽन्यथायात्रीऽसाभ्येनान्यस्मेतिहास्मकी
 णुनानिपात्रीणीतिवतश्चविसुतनामन्यस्वामितिप्रवर्तुल्यमस्यान्निर्वीपस्यप्रत्यासन्नत
 तदसत्तएकवचनप्रपणतपात्र्यामिति। तत्तदेविशेषणमविवक्षितं एतेनोक्तैपरिधिप्रज्यादिभि
 तत्रतर्हि यूपकिमतीत्यादिकोवाक्त्तन्निर्विविधास्फुटेशः। उपानस्यवानपात्रस्यचग्रहणं सं
 माह्वित्फपालस्यऽग्नीनादधीतऽन्यत्रवातस्यऽत्रोपातं चैद्विष्यत इति च का २५६ वि
 धेयद्विषयोस्फुटेशः। इत्थञ्चोतेनापात्रपातंचोद्विष्यदेचरतः। अमाणांतरस्मिद्धविशेषण
 उपाध्यमविवक्षितं विशेषणं नवति यत्पुनरविज्ञातविशेषणचोद्विष्टं तद्विधेयवक्तृति
 एववशिष्टमवगंतव्यं। तस्मात्तूत्रीदिलिप्तांस्त्रचैनिर्न्ज्या न्यस्याणान्निधायनिर्वत्यतशा २०९
 माकानितिपात्र्याः। यदासंनिहृष्टयाऽन्निमश्रुनिं हृदाऽहंति ततश्चां वर्यदृष्टास्व इतिवाह

नृपात्रियदणसामर्थ्याति। न्यायदन्यथादन्यपात्र्याः प्रयोगसंसादनाद्यथामन्यग्रदण
॥ छान्नाबीजानां धर्मः विधास्यामः ब्रीदिएष्यामाकानां नबीज धर्म इद्वक्त्यति। सामेष्टपिना
नाबीजसुप्रतिज्ञायते। वषट्कारप्रदानानां चिककपालानां। एककपालधर्मेतिवत्स्यातमे
प्याननायेष्टकपालेष्टतिदाशदयाप्रतिज्ञायतवषट्कारप्रदानानाग्रदणं वृष्टेदायं
किमर्थं प्रतिज्ञासूत्रद्वयेनातिदशेनेतेनामिक्कासर्वत्रद्याख्यातेति यन्नानाबीजैककपा
लधर्माद्याख्यादतिविचि- यमित्यदोषः। दृष्टगन्तिमर्शिनं नानाबीजानां शक्यमनर्शक
मिदं कर्तुं नानापात्रस्त्रिबातदृष्टये कोन्तिमर्शितं भवति। एवं तर्हि यूपपदन्तिमर्शिनं मान्नुत्
नानाबीजग्रदणदन्यत्रयुगपदद्यावच्छेदे। तत्तेति छल्लु। नानावदन्तिमृशे तशेषपुनर्मन्त्रिण
द्याख्यातं प्राचयेत्येवौ युगपसंनवेयुगपदमन्त्रवन्नोक्तं। ऊहो। मकमन्नापायुमस्य

मादिषीशात्रात्यवयो एषामदोवे त्पादिबीजग्रहणानाबीजेषु दबिष्णु
 पुगपन्मुखेषु दोविः लतमाह्वयति ननु वाकानं प्रलतलक्तं । त्रिलेव हंतीत्यवघाते विनि
 योगान्मंत्रे स्थैव तर्हि दोविः लवदीति त्रितैव सूत्रा क्रयतीति सूत्रं विनियोजकं पठितं च । इष्य
 वाज्पायसाच - स्य नात्तरीयकत्वे नाले गिकं विनियोगिकं भवेत् । न वा क्य ज्ञदायमन्य
 ते यथा धार्य वैश्वं न नाधं न्यष्टमसि ब्रह्म न पः । अस्मा कोसीत्यादेवा ग्विस ग्रंजिपः परिक्र
 तप्रवशादौ विनियोगः - - - यथा संख्यग्रहणे पिशाचिक बाधत्वां तरीयकचैनमि
 हिस्तस्मादविष्यन्त दोतिय धिर्गादाह्वानं न दृष्टार्थं तस्य मुखे सुल्लत तत्रोन्नजमन्य
 शुपुनः प्रक्रिया कुतस्य पुनराधानपिष्टाप्यषण्डिनिवाएतदेवज्ञापयति प्रयोगविधिः स
 स्कार्यद्वारः । अनेच संस्कार्याणि निबानित दारक संस्कारो विधेः । एकैकं कं मे नि यो निति

लघुश्रीवार्त्ता॥ त्रिभाषणं पुनर्द्वितीयपुरोडाशश्रुतिं कृत्वा तत्पात्रं संसादनवत् ननु चात्रापि
संस्काराणां त्रीदश्यामाकादीनि निजिना नितेषामस्मिन् घातार्थं भ्रंशं न विष्णुति तमपि प्रयो
गविधिः प्रयुक्तं तदुपचारे सते। स तं एव ज्ञातीयकैषु तन्निर्दिष्टं दन्ति एव न दोनवद्यम
ध्वयुः। प्रेषामन्वाह। त्यादिः। अत्रापि न प्रभृति फलीकरणं तमेकै कस्य। उत्तरार्थे तु वादः।
प्राप्तवान्निष्पन्नानां तं यवानां तु सदा रद्वै न बोधेत स्यात्तु वादः। प्राप्तवान्नरोः खेषणं द
क्षितं चातुं दुल्लो नोद्येति। अतएव प्रकृतावपि निश्चयवनातं यवानां भवति वाचनिके विदुः प्र
भृति स्यात्स्यै। त्वादादृष्टार्थं निव स्यात्तु। अत्र प्रवेशनां तं निष्पन्नं फलीकरणानावा
त्तु। कैवल्यनात्प्राप्त्यस्य स्वतीति दोमाना बीजेषु यवानामवचनं इत्युक्तं। अत्रायणेना
नाबीजानां वातप्रतिप्रसवो नान्न स्यात्। सिद्धमोपधानात् अत्रादानात् प्रवृत्तिरक्षमा

पंनद्वानिन्गनी

जिनस्येत्पारणेऽप्राज्ञेद्रायद्वादशकपालान्येकं द्यावापृथिवीययोः क्रमपर्यमुत्तरीयौद
विप्रविशेषप्रतीतिसिद्धमाधिश्रयणदाज्ञेद्रमधिश्रित्यवैश्वदेवं च रुमाधि श्रयति ॥
दमपिक्तमाधंस्वस्त्रवत् च रुधने धि करणे ब कृश्चरुशब्दः यद्दत्तपाकाधि करणमणि
च रुर्नष्टमयो न वती निर्वचनात्पवित्रां तर्दि ते पयः प्राणी यत्तदुलानोऽयं गुणं पर्वमात्रं
कृती पलाशमात्रं द्यावापृथिवीयमधिश्रित्य यौ म्यं च रुमधिश्रयति पूर्ववदेतानि क्रमाया
नि पलाशानिका निचिदृष्टिहानि लभू निच तत्तद्वृत्त्य पलाशं त्रिगुणमं गुष्टपर्वण इति पश्यामः
पवित्रां तर्दि तेऽप्यप्राणी यत्तदुलानोऽयं मेरुणे न प्रदक्षिणं च रु अपयति प्रततवाच्चरो च रो
विधानं तर्दि तं दिज्जीवत्तुलमिति नोक्तमिति सद्य निचारान् च खः पाक विशेषणमिति गम्
तोऽत्र न्नपादनात्ततोऽपि विरुतौ ज्जीवत्तुलमिति नास्ति नृत्वे तु वचनात्प्रवति क्रस्मिदनी १०३

पवित्रा २

=॥ ऐकादिकं चातुर्मास्यादौ

वयद्यथन्निवारद्द तथापि विहृतौ न लभ्यते गुक्तं सिद्धमो वा ममान्ना बीजेषु पिष्टलेपनि नयनं
किं पृथग्नुत्तरमंत्रणो विनोक्तप्रसंजवादात्रैधातव्यादिषु किमपिनोक्तं न वडु पृथक् तत्रै एवे
ति मन्यते एककपालमन्यस्यां पाच्यामले ऊर्वने निष्पृयति न चै नद्यस्यामेव न विष्णु तिस्रप्रथा
त्तस्यादि द्वितीयस्यापि पृरं स्यात् एव तर्हि विहृत्य पृथगे मन्यग्रदणै। यत्रैककपालो बह्वं
सप्तस्त्रचातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बह्वैककपालवद्दवः सप्तस्त्रचातुर्मास्यादौ इतरथा बह्व
वैककपाला एकस्यां पृथग्नुत्तरमासादनयथादाने स्विष्टे सत्तस्या त्रयतश्चायुक्तं प्र
तिकमपि यावदानं स्यात् इति चेत् तन्नाशयस्येकां शचातुत्तरावसि चानियतत्वाच्चा
न्यापात्री न प्रयुज्यते प्रततादि वैककपालो स पृथ्वै चै न दर्शनात् पृथग्नुदर्शनात् प्रयोग
स्य प्रचरणवैनायां बर्हिषि सा दयिष्वोपस्तीर्थैककपालं सत्तस्यैव मवद्यत्पाशयस्यान्व

ता योषितुस्त्यादयो नैभिन्ने मित्रिकोपि अतएव वाचनिकं चोपांशु खंदे विकानामंत्र
 प्रचाग्यतुहुक्तं। सैवानुयोगानुकूल्य इति मध्यग्रदणं समादशोपलक्षणां यंत्रकुतायका
 वचने मध्ये पुरोडाशादुतीरिति सिद्धत्वा तत्राहुती प्राचुदीची रायात यती तस्य विधेर्विध
 नार्थं विषट्कृत इति नियमांशं आसक्तो मादवकिं पयवित्तेन प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकुर्विषट्कृतं
 प्रउज्याहुतीर्नुहोति षड्ग्रहणं मेकप्रवन्तिः -- स्वातिविससांशं अत्र द्याज्य तषष्ठीग्र
 हणं स्वशाखाधी तस्योचवैषणं प्ररणार्थं युंहुं शतासुध इत्याज्य धानी एककपालाश
 यस्य स्विष्टकृते समवद्यतीति च अत्र द्याज्यमवदानधर्मप्रापणार्थं अशयेतस्मिन्नित्या
 शय। एककपालाशयनक्रियाविकारणमुच्यते। यजमान इडाग्रणे प्राश्नाति एत इत्यादि
 प्रदर्शितं इडा इति संबधे षष्ठीदक्षिणा काले वसः। अथ मज्जेदक्षिणा प्रथमो ज्ञानः प्रथमो

पात्राच्चैतु

माज्या २

उपवेशनक्रियाधारं आप्ये ॥

जातः प्रथमो यथा नुज इति पंचम्या मजा ताद्युत्पत्त्यां च तत्पत्त्यां प्रियमाणं यां किं म
 पेक्षः प्रथमशब्द इति किं प्रथमा नु रद्याः आहोस्विज्जा ता क्रोतोलक्ष्वा स्वननिनं यस्य प्र
 थमं नु इति तस्मात् पूर्वै च व्युत्पत्तिर्युक्ता मतिकनी यां समापदा प्रथमं नु इति अत्र तीते
 नदि सो दसा दीनां पूर्वः पूर्व प्रथमजा इत्युच्यते बुभुक्षु क द्या व्यामो क म ध्वा बभुं पिं गलं म
 स्तरं दद्याद्म नंचा बभू पिंगल मिति विशेषण विशेष्य भावोत्र वा शब्द च शब्दभावात्
 विकल्पसमुच्चयोरप्रतीतिः आसन्नरूपेण भावेव सो वस तस्व उच्यते किमथ सिद्धं
 सूत्रं बुभुक्षु द्वौ तोना भौवेश रत् पूर्व कालं विना पिशामा के न इक्षु सो मं शपा मा के नुं जी
 त नु न चाग्र द्रादिनिष्काशः मा के न व्रीह्या दीन पिभुं जी त ऊ त न दि शपा मा के नो ह्यत्यने
 ना स ता आ य ए ण द व ता य हं लभ्यतः सो मं स मस्त शपा मा का आयेनेन प्रत्यभिजायते।

ऋषा संनव्यानिष्ठा ग्रायणं नवस्थाः स्त्रीयादिति प्रतिषेध एव च न स्तस्यान्ना वा सनं अत्र
 ग्रायणं स शक्य तत्सर्वत्र दण्ड्यमात्मन प्राप्ति तं स्याज्जीवना र्थं अकाले श्यामा केन
 क्षुचुक्षे निति विप्रोषात् यद्देव शरदिपुनः श्यामा कैः स्तस्या प्राक्त तत्वा दक्षिणादा तेषु
 नर्नवत्येवा॥ ७॥ उच्यते नमस्तस्या न्या रप्यमानः वाचमस्त्या नीति संज्ञा कर्मणं वैश्वदेवा
 वीनां क्षुनासी यपर्वता नपर्वति मनिर्द्वा तैः क्षुनासी र्थं नारं नृणी य स्यातात्पूर्वपौर्णम
 सी सुपौष्या उपयव स नार्थमिमतत् प्रतिपदि वैश्वदेवया जैर्पौर्णमास्या मारं नृणी यादि
 हिः अत आरं नृपि आरं नृणी याको नियत एव रसस त्वितं नित्यमोष्ठु वा दौ युक्तः
 स्वकाले कर्तव्या रं नृणी या पूर्वपक्षादि प्रतीक्ष्येत प्राचीन प्रवर्णे वैश्वदेवे न यजते वैश्व
 देवेनेति अस्मावारं एष च फाल्गुन्यां चित्रां वसंते वा वसंतं त्रदणं विशारद्यं तेन संगतं

राक्षानि

संप्रयोऽत यंति ते न प्राप्नुवन् चैत्री न्यां विनापि वसंते वैश्वदेवशाख्यमावास्यायां वा
 प्रवर्षे चैवाऽपि वा समस्तपर्वार्थं वसंतं ग्रहणं न विश्वदेवार्थं विश्वदेवैः सद्यः पौ-
 र्णमासीत्येकवा वसंतं वा ध्याता अस्ति अणधीनः प्रधाननियमः का म्या नो जिवते
 मसमस्तपक्षे पौर्णमास्यं मष्टकाद्वै वसंतं ग्रहणं समतार्थं ननु प्रतिपर्वणे सद्यः
 पौर्णमासीमित्युक्तं तद्यपि न विश्वदेवार्थं किं फलं न्यो वसंतैवेति सिद्धं चेत्तत्रै-
 श्वदेवी त्रित्रीग्रहणं स्यान्नर्थं किं प्राप्नोति यदि कथां तद्ग्रहणे समस्तार्थः तद्योचित्री
 पक्षमनर्थकं विश्वदेवायति त्रैतुयुक्तं वसंतं तद्ग्रहणं समस्तार्थं त्रिशोऽपि पौ-
 र्णमास्यं समस्तानीति तदुक्तं तावन्मात्रं दृष्ट्वा स्तु समस्तपक्षेऽपि प्रतिपक्षे तपौर्णमासी २०६
 पिकन्यपूर्वचातनोपवसाद्यत्रात्रुर्मास्येष्टुके शश्रयजमानावापयेत्तु उपवसद्यः

तिमाच्युतमन्नयरादिषु प्रनिबेध इत्युक्तं। यत्तु मानग्रहणं पत्नी मन्मदुजानी तो कैशश
 क्रग्रहणं न स्वलोमानि। चलोमस्येषु च परप्रतिषेधे उपवसथादीनामपवादाऽनर्थ
 कस्यात्तनैवंधारयातां। प्रसूनः प्रस्तर इति न करोमन्वर्थः। यथा यस्तदेकधामंत्रेण
 मनस्यतीति इध्मस्यादिहोनामो रक्ष्मीमित्यादिसिद्धानामष्टवेभंत्रेण प्राप्तिमाभाव
 सतेऽतः। तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं रक्ष्मीमिति रक्षतीग्रहणं च रुक्पालानिकपालानि प्रथम
 द्वितीया माज्यस्थानी स्मृचंच आज्यधानपात्रमपेक्षं हति योति अदिति - नाकिं
 नेपत्रिति स्थालीशष्टप्रयोऽक्षदेवस्थालीमितिवक्तव्ये आज्यस्थालीग्रहणं अदा
 नमंत्रार्थः। तत्राज्यस्थालीप्रयोगे तदर्थं हतः आज्यधानपात्रीमिति चरुषुषिष्ट
 भागुषुषा यत्र केन घृणा सर्वत्र तत्रास्मापौ सवचनात्तानेद्रा पौ सैननवति अत्रे

ब्रह्मवी० षाधिश्च यतिश्च धिश्च पणकोले चरु रधिश्च यणं दशयति च। कपालो पधानकाल
 एव मनुष्यं देवि रधिश्च यणं च वति मारुत मधिरुत य नायं पति अहो मारुतः स सकपाल
 मितिकल्पितस्य स्वतवङ्गो निरुध्या चात्तस्यैव लक्षणा यमिदं सायं दो दृशदणं दो
 धर्मार्थं तदुक्तं ब्रह्मोपे तस्य शास्त्रा म हत्वे त्यादि एत न मिदो स सर्वत्र भैत्रोवरुणे पय
 स्पादो समान धर्मै निधा एव वाष्ठा समा न धर्मै निधा य एतद्विचो नियत चा त एण
 समानं संमार्जनं यथा उपपद्यते दानं तस्मै शास्त्रा ल्या अदिति रसीति प्रषदा ज्ञानि
 र्भीषु पद्यते शास्त्रयोजे न पृषदा ज्ञधानी शब्दस्य अदानं त्रेसादने च दधि विज्ञे
 षणवेद पं धिश्च यणा दपि स्या त्प्रागनिघारणा हाजिन स्या निघारणे नास्त्यत्रानि २०१
 यन्त्राद्यस्ते किमिति नोक्तं मनिघारणं वाजिनमुत्करे सादयेत् तस्मिन्मपि मक्ष एण

आग्रहणं वाजिन सुक्तेरे सादयेत सिद्धमपि महे एत प्रागग्रहणं किमनि विधिनिरासा
यतिवैतपंचहोत्रा निमश्रियंती यघटवान्निर्मंशं प्रधानादनेतरं घटत एवास्मि मश्रि
नादतं तरं स्याग्रंशह्यस्या निविधित्रा निरासा यं पंचहोत्रेति प्रलतं निवत्रये तौ पदेति
कच्चादन्वारश्चेय रुमानमति ब्रूहीति त्रैष्या निः संवा दयंतीति यथा लोपस्थानं ठ
रुत इति प्रेष्यं लो कसु पस्थापयतीति ब्रूहीति निवचति विया करणा वा तु मसि
नाष्ये प्रशमंषंडः ॥ ४ ॥ सिद्धमाप्रयाज्येभ्यः आश्रावग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यं प्राह तं च संख्या
संबंधादिहनवसंख्यायमख्यातु ए विधिज्ञापका यश्रप एग्रहण नौ फष्टत हवी
दृष्य निघारयंतीति ह्रादग्रहण दनिघारस्य चानुयाजा यस्त्रिदा नि द्यायां दर्शनाकु
पन्तुति सर्वसमानेन रिक्त्या यां प्राप्ति ब्रूते निघार एतस्या दपात्रा निघार एतमम सीदि

धर्कं वां पुनर्धर्कं वा सुपचतमंतत इति प्रकृतौ पात्रग्रहणा संश्रावता रिचा निघारणं क
 निवारयति उपाहसु संप्रति वषट्कारप्रदानां एककपालानां उपपाहसु चैसिद्धे पुनरि
 द्रवतं सा वित्रेण त्फयते तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं प्राक्स्थिष्टकृतमर्थादावयमंत श्याचक्रम नि
 गानां मोमनामानि जुहोत्कर्मयत्र स्थिष्टतीति सिद्धमानुयाजैः प्रभृतौ च यंत्रित
 माश्रवोणमिदं न व संख्यायानि वारयतो मन्मतिरथाय तपुन रुक्ते वज्रवत्सोपचतु
 मद्रश्रग्धोदनं मंत्रे वाजवती शब्दः प्राकृतं शुद्धं न नत्वपूर्वमिति दर्शयितुं संप्रभृत्क
 त्ति उपचतैः प्रदत्ति ऋद्धिं स्तिष्ठन्वाहिनं नृत्तानि अंतर्विदित्वा दणो संबध्यात
 नहो मोहो मेपि संबंधं ध्वंति परिधि संधितान वदो रस्य संभवादपेनु शेष समं वे १०८
 त्ति समशब्दः संख्या वचन इह ता प्रत्ययात्स द्यापौ र्ममासी संख्या सतमिव प

चणेनपौसीमासीप्रयोमगधोक्षपतिस्मसंस्वामात्रंप्रयोगंदर्शयितुं पौर्णमासी
रूपसद्यकालानावांतप्रधानकालस्यसखीत्सह्यएवभवत्पाधानदर्शनान्वनिवत्त
तवपरयोर्युगपन्मंत्रसंबंधसंनकातुजुष्टेकानृतात्कच्चर्थप्रायश्चित्कार्यमितं मां
सप्रतिषिद्धान्मुप्रतिषेधे सति मधुञ्जमातीत्यनुज्ञातम्लुगमनवत् ननु तत्र वेङ्ग
मईशानम्लुगमनानुज्ञानसादृचयतिकथं मांसनिषेधेमधुनिषेधः प्रथा च मधु
मींसे प्राप्तीयादिति जेदेना समासकरणान्मांसकार्यमधुनेऽपि कारनिषाधलव
णस्यापि किंचक्रवंजं सां यद्येव गम्येत न तदा मांसनिषाधिधातुमानंततश्चा न्यमा
विष्णो मांससम्बद्धत्वत्र मधुप्रतिषेधेन भवतीति शास्त्रार्थः॥ छात्रा लुर्मस्थि नाष्ठे
द्वितीयपंडः समाप्तः॥ छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥ ॥छ॥

आषाढी

॥वक्रवर्गप्रथमं पर्वसमाप्तं॥ ॥वरुणव्रथा साश्वतुषु मासेषु ॥ आषाढं श्रावणी
वर्षाश्रावणफलफाल्गुन्यादिकालविकल्पत्रयाऽनिप्रायेनेति ॥ विश्वदेविकं विष्णोर्न धा २
पंचसंचराणं संचरंतीति संवाणी सर्वेषु पर्वेषु च ज्ञेयादीनि संवरंतीति ॥ वि
धानमधिअयणादिसत्संनद्धं प्रतिप्रस्थाता यथाभवति तद्या संनद्यतिप्रति
प्रस्थाता एषा कुत्र दं एमलुवादेनिरर्थकमत्रैवेकधा मनदुनया सोदं संनवां बि
स्यष्टाष्टिघा ॥ एवं दृष्टा कुदोदयत इत्यत्रापि स्क्रवपंचमाश्वरुस्था ल्यो ननु द्वं ह
॥ द्विग्रहणमविवक्षितं यथा हे ऋधी इति दृष्टा गृह्णं प्रोक्षणादीनां तत्र प्रसंग
यकनिरस्य लुपात्तं नदं परिगणनं ॥ पात्राणं सतेऽष्टी तत्रोक्षणी पात्रं प्रतिप्रस्था
ता पात्रेषु दृष्टे ग्रहाणां देवलभ्या त्वं च रुस्था ल्यादीनि यथा स्था ल्यो त्वविपन्ने पति ॥ १० ॥

गणनप्रदर्शेनार्थमंदधियेनुग्रहायासिद्धमानिर्वीरैर्ज्ञानकायमिति द्वितीयांक
न्यासुक्तमिति पययिंदश्येनूक्तममनुवदति यथा कालमाभिद्वेष्टय गिति वाति
यवारिश्च॥ एष्टग्रवचने किंयावेदुक्तशब्दसंज्ञानामति यत्र शब्दो नास्ति तद्विश
प्रामिधायिकस्तत्र न तावद्विशेषानुष्ठिति रिति दर्शयति ते न ज्ञायते पात्रं प्रायेण ल
छानं शास्त्रमासितं बहुल्योत्तरुडामाप्रयात्मसंनववा विवातुक्तं तैर्द्धिवा तज्जडै र्यथा
पर्वरिघातं ता एनासितं स पर्वणलुछानं तथान्यत्रापि एवंचानि प्रणयने प्रत्यस्तु स्वत
दृशा छिति त्रिष्टुप्रक्रमे तपनु गत्वे छित्यर्थः। अप्रिमिति को न्युक्तिरुद्धमप्यिमिति ते तदशाब्द
ज्ञात तस्मादनियमोपरिमिते देशान् पुनः प्रक्रमेण कवचना तच्चातप्रक्रमेण संबन्धो
दादानप्रवृत्तिधर्मातिदेशो वाक्येन प्रकृतौ वा पद्यते विशिष्टादशविधानायाद्विद्वि

षा वितस्ति इति तृतीयमात्रेऽप्यधारेयः पूर्वार्धे नस्तत्रैतत्पृथः नियन्तावलक्षणसप्तम
 इतरथा वितृतीयमात्रगति स्यात् त्रिषु प्रक्रमसु यावानात्रादया स्वयं त्रत्यस्माकं त्र
 आणा करं स्यादशकालात् प्रक्रममात्रगत उत्तकरस्यात्र तश्चाचालं प्रिमीतोऽन्ययुक्त
 मपि मौत्रैर्मैतं इति प्राप्नुयता उत्तकराभिधातहृत्वा स्वंपदान प्रत्यप्नुयव स्येत्प्राप्तिय
 मार्षप्राप्नुयवेग्रहं स्यात्तु स्वनिष्ठा तस्मात्प्रत्यप्नुखाढा - कारविद्या उकरं वेद्यंगक
 डकृतस्यैकग्रहणं हि तीयनिवृत्त्यर्थं तत्र यद्यविदिस्तत्रोकरद्वितिसिद्धः अपरेण कृत्य
 स्मचदरण्यं सार्वशीत्रतत्र हि सोऽप्यनियतांशं प्रोक्ष्य एणस्तिष्ठति आसादनांश्चिपि
 च नस्त्विति दक्षिणतः शेषे निनीते प्रोक्षिणा सादनांशं पुनः संस्करणं स्यात्पंच गृहीत
 न निरुक्तमाज्योत्पन्निस्तिष्ठति ततः पंच गृहीतं प्रोक्षति श्रेतिस्तत्र विद्वत्कं विवंचनं त

स्याज्जायति निनिवर्पिपात्रं प्रसादित्वा तृतीयमाज्यस्त्रालीप्रितियोन्नेते सप्त
 दृष्टीयां किमिति न स्मरति अक्षिप्रयणादिक्रवीति संस्कारं कथं देवाकुविदुर्वा रकु
 ध्वंति चतुर्दशी तमाज्यावोदरेदित्यंतां आदवनीयेति प्रणयनाति आदवनीयादग्नि
 प्रणयना अक्षिठतं द्वाती कैविशेष एकारं गुगुलु अग्निमोषितिकर्षइ सद्यं तेवरु
 ण प्रघासे गये प्रणीयमानायानुद्धृतीत्यक्षय्यनुवादादग्निशब्दस्य संसिद्धिति द्रव्य
 बाचायुक्तं वेतदिति अपारकथं मंत्रानो ह्येतोपाशानिति वन्यत्रैव का क हो मे अ
 ज्यसुक्तं यद्वा न्य देवायुं किंबन्य न्नैर्वापमात्र संस्कारं अक्षय्युपावाग्नीध्राय प्रयच्छति
 वचना न्न प्रति प्रस्थाता प्रयच्छतीति दृष्टार्थं द्वा दधयेत्यवहो मे यज्ञः प्रत्यक्षादिति
 अपवादप्रति प्रस्थातेति निदधातीति अन्नवृत्तैस्तत्र त्रियोगाणि पृथग्नमत्रो न वर्त
 ते

परिशद्वचान्नास्तिदक्षिणतः प्रादवनीयस्योप। एकवचनं न चोत्तुल्यमाणो विप्रोषचादे-
कस्यचिदादवनीयस्य दक्षिणतो ही दातुं तुल्यमाणा तावगमात् प्रहृतं तं वादवनी-
यद्वयं योऽय न प्रणीतस्तस्य दक्षिणतमिन्न कर्चक चोत्तुल्यमनीनां यद्वयद्वयतेति
प्रबितावाज्ञातिन्ननि। नृदा निति प्रति यीति उलपरजिम्मा मादवनी यौएवमधिप्रयोगे
नवतीति दृश्यति। यद्वा हि तीयोऽप्रादवनीयसंज्ञानिर्देशार्थं हि वचनं। पृथक् कर्माणि
रुतपयिन्नाषार्थं सूत्रं। अत्रापवादमाद्वयं ध्रुयुः प्रैषाना देतियुक्तैवैतदेकैनापि संज्ञो-
द्वतो ही ताब्रह्मा वापिषाथमिच्छति। एति ह्यहम्या मपीप्रसंजे नो पृज्जीवतीत २॥ अत एव परि-
गृहीतं यद्वा इत्थादिभूतेन समस्ति तदिह प्रसंजे सति रुदस्त्रै च दयथादव दत्तनामं २१
ताः कश्चिदिमा गायति यद्वा दत्तौ पिते दर्थः प्रसंगना पृज्जीवनि सोऽपि न तदर्थं प्रियतना

गृहं तेषु तमिति ॥ चानुमस्य न श्रेयती यषंडे वरुण प्रघास्य पर्वणि ॥ उत्तरने
 गार्हपत्यस्येति देशनि यमः ॥ यमयवपिष्ठानामिनेटती ण्येष्टिष्टी ॥ एको द्वि निशरा वारु
 तीति ॥ ये मात्या न त्तद्या ननु सपिंडां गोत्रिणं लिंगमविवक्षितं स्त्रियः पत्नी मिति ज्ञापका त
 प्रक्षाल्योसंमिषयोः स्त्रे ष्यतज्जो मशौ न वत इति श्रुतेः परः शतान्यधिक्षता निपरः श
 तादित्यर्थः ॥ विश्रामि कैपाद्योरववेत्त उत्तरा धेनुं वा दः वारुणं मे ष मा रुत्या मानयति
 मे षी मारुत्यां वारु ण्या मिति उयत्र निर्मप्यः ॥ अद्योगात् गच्छात् सकदाशं कात द्रव्यस्य स
 स्कारः प्रतिद्रव्यमावर्त्तत इत्यनयत्र अदणं पुनस्तत्प्रत्यं चावतिष्ठेते द्विवचनात् पत्नी य
 जमानौ नक्षोते उत्तरतस्तिष्ठन् पत्न्यनीपुनरे ॥ पुनस्तात्प्रत्यं चै इति श्रुतेः ॥ अर्धयुः प्रवरा इ
 प्रदणीते अयोगं गच्छात् संप्रप्यत्र दणं ॥ अर्धयुः त्रैषा निति स्यात् मासनामानि जुहोता

त्तिप्रतिप्रस्थाच निवृत्तये समानीयेन किमवदेया र्थादित्रैप्रदेयेतिकयवित्तामिष्टुनो
 द्दिष्टतरेतरापेक्षया द्विवचनात्तेन विट्टह्यसमाप्ताः उच्यते वाजिन्सं याज्यानुवा
 क्ययोस्तत्र संबधचा दोषव्युत्पन्नावसिद्धः प्रयो गंगत्वेति न वतिदक्षिणस्मिन्नतिप्र
 स्थातो न यत्रैति वाच्यो दक्षिणाग्रदणवे विद्याष्टं त्रिज्यशेषे द्वितीया द्विवचनात्तं उच्यते
 निःकाषालौ किं कात्रे रनीकमिति त्रिंशो च कायं श्रौ च धर्मकमित्यर्थः श्रौचाधारवत्
 धर्मातिदेशश्च उच्यते तस्येति षष्ठी त्रितीया र्थात्प्रतान्यश्च उच्यते तं प्रयाजाष्टं त्रिंश
 संबधे षष्ठी ततः प्रयो जैभ्यः शिष्टाजुहुयात् यद्विमं न व तत्तदायं पक्षोऽग्रयावतत्वे
 त्तं तदाह र्वदतिशेषेणेति सवविदाना र्थं द्वितीया समिधा वा दूरं तिसमिधा विजिप्रत्ये
 कसंबधः गार्हपत्यपत्नी तदशनात् दक्षिणस्मिन् प्रतिप्रस्थाता प्रतिप्रस्थाचग्रदण

मन्मनि दृष्टपञ्चिधिवल्लिबादोवास्तत्रै सद्यः। एषो नि का तत्र मध्यो सस्त्राशास्त्रां तरा
 तद्दतरथा तत्तयजमानं तं सद्य एव स्यात्। का। वा। उमा। स्थि। भा। शे। क। उ। धा। कां। ड।। स्त्रा।
 वरुणप्रघासानामद्वितीयोपवसमाप्तं। का। सा। कमेधाश्रुत्तुमासेषु कानि कयोमाश्रिणी
 ष्यंदिमंतैवेति पूर्वकल्पत्रयं पूर्वापौ सभासीदेमंतैः सन्नियते त्फक्तं। अ। रं। न। णी। या। म्। त्रै।
 सिद्धेष्टिपौ सभासीवत्संतिष्ठत इति मान्स्त्वुन्नोतिः प्रागबर्हिः प्रहरणत्सिद्धेष्टिशि
 पुनरुक्तं गृहमेधीयेनृक्षीकंवसापाकरणैर्वं। परिनाष्वैकुवस्सपाकरणमंत्रनिष्ठत्वं तं३५
 श्रुतिदामधीयावसरेपरिनाषायदिक्त्रियते। सावानेन करणेन संबधुतानुपचोपाव
 रणं स्यात्कर्मण --- दोमंत्रवस्यावभोचदिति तद्विद्यदनीकवतस्य अनीकवतं सातप
 नायाः समानं बर्हिः अतस्तेनाशनानात्संनद्या तातद्युक्तं हि पौ सभासीदिति निरीक्षं योप

देशेऽपुनः मनदमनिकवती प्रयुंतेऽत्र त्रिनिः पञ्चवात्रदमोपदेशस्तु ग्राह्यतर्कदिषो न
 र्थक्योत्पदन ह्यातस्तः समानया द्वयोर्बहिर्नीशून्यन्नां स्तीति बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति
 किं संद्वेष्टि संतिष्ठत इति ना सिद्धं प्रहरणं नृदमेधी यार्थवार्थे ताशा खोतरा तननुष्टुद
 मेधीया - द्यानि बहिर्दिति वदयति अत्रैव सां तपनीय बहिष सं नृदं वमा विज्ञासि
 ण्ति दशयितीतेनेह सुख प्रचतिस नृदना शंका निवृत्त्युं बहिर्नु प्रहरतीति व
 मंज्ञापकं नापनं यस्तु चो प्रचतिः प्रनेकाशतं बहिः सन्न ह्यतीत्यर्थः स्यो स्पृहते सायमग्नि
 दोत्र इति नृदमेधी यार्थे विद्वार नृदमेधी याश्च विद्वारेऽत्रिद्वोत्रं दशयति बहिः सं
 नृद नोत्ररदोम अत्र वणा तृश्रिद्वोत्रादा मद्यापाराङ्गि कखा तूङ्गते एव सिद्धमायमो
 वने बहिः सन्नद्वोत्ररवचनम कविद्वारा शस्य उ पवसा न्नो नो नार्याये विद्वारा

वर्दिः सन्न दनचं वर्दिः। तेषां निषु नवति वस्पाकरणावत्। अष्टवर्चातश्च दमेधीया
श्रीवैत्तापराञ्चिहोत्रं दशयितिवर्दिः सन्न दनोत्तरहोमश्रवणात्। अत्रिहोत्रविह
रस्यापराङ्किक्वाष्टु तएव सिद्धेसा नियमो दनवर्दिः संनह - त्रं वचनमेकवित्त
श्रिस्त्युपवसशाभाक्वन्नो नयाष्टिपि विद्वारः वर्दिः सन्न चं वर्दिः स्तेषां निषु नवति
वस्पापाकरणावत्। तद्दामधीयस्यादिमार्थाहोमो - - - रवध्यते। अष्टपराङ्किपे माय
व्यातसायां क्लेशते। तत्रमन्त्रदितीनेयमार्थाः। क्लृताः शतिवन्मन्त्रपयतीति यजति चोदना
कृष्टदेवतासंबंधानिर्वपतीति तानुप्रपयति। शब्दः निर्वपनिष्ठतिः। अष्टवित्ताहोदय
तिहोदधर्मप्रदुत्पष्टिपवित्रमात्रतौषधाद्देहनसंख्याजननियानात्। तदुलानौकि
निर्वपति। अज्ञानिर्वपतीत्यादियावदुक्त्यर्थकर्मप्रदश्रिति। नियुततरांपदुत्पत्त्यास्त्र

लिचद्याख्यातानितस्यनैवाहुतेः प्रातरग्निहोत्रइति ननु होतएव होमिभः कौडउद्यस्तु
 रग्निमेषु प्रचरातएव तदिनियमार्थमिभ्यः प्राक्त्वां प्राक्त्वां दामाबु दाम्यः प्राग्त्वां दाम्यः प्राग्त्वां
 ते प्रा योनयुनयेते दशितं मरुद्व्याक्रीडि डयप्रतिनिरुक्तं ब्राह्मणं तेन क्रीडित्येवाक्री
 डिमप्रियाधामानिक्रीडयतिदं हविर्नितिप्रयो स्फस्त दसतः इद्रय यात्रस्येदेव
 तातद्धितेत्यातषत् क्रीडिनस्याक्रीडिनीषुपंचदशतियाज्यायाक्रीडिनः पयोधा
 इनत्तप्रयो गौतस्मात्तक्रीडिनो यजक्रीडिनो प्रियाधामानिक्रीडिन इदमितिप्रयोग
 चर्बतिः अनेवेदैत्रमितिचतुर्द्वीतस्यासौचमाधारमाधारयतीतिः अत्रकेचित्प्रा
 कृस्विष्टकृदिति संबंधयंतिः स्त्रैशास्वोदादरंतिः तदसत्तुक्तैः क्रियाविधा ११४
 नतन् अतोः प्रादशस्यावितिः इत्येगर्भवत्याधारवत् शास्वोतास्वोतावेवतद्वचन

न्मासनामानिववकारस्यातश्च नास्ति। प्राक्कुस्विष्टं ततो मासनामानि जुहोति न नृत्तं।
चचारि साकमेधेष्टीति एवं तोदितं परि संख्यायमा नूवं नानी क्वतादिषु साकमेधेत्वा।
ननी क्वतादिषु प्राक्प्रवंतितस्मात्प्रचापारि संख्येति हेतुः। ऋणि इति क्वतादि
षु अन्वाद्यस्माकमवशब्दवाद्योक्तसर्वप्रधानं च तस्यावद्यप्यदेश साकामाध
ष्टमिर्हृत्नाणि स्रस्ते कोकामधवा इत्येवमादिना शकारादोरवयवशब्देन व्यपदिष्ट
साकमेधावयवोन्नीरनी क्वते प्राग्भ्येत्पादिष्विष्टिषु ननु अंगशब्देनाच्छा। वाउमा
स्य नाप्येवं च मर्षेडः॥ छ॥ प्राग्दक्षिणचारा इत्यादिनिर्देशकं न भवति। उपमूलं बर्हि
दीति बद्धवचनं ब्रह्मयजमानापदं। अन्यतस्तस्मिन् इतीति संबंधः। न पुनरन्यत् प्रस्म
दुपमूलमिति संबंधः। यद्यन्यत्। प्रस्तराद्वय इधमा बर्हिः सं नद्यतीति संबंधः। प्रस्तोना इव

अस्तरदत्तयमूलदितं ग्रहीणं तेन्यङ्गपरोपदिस्तीयेति वाचनिकं ननवतिङ्गनतिदेश
 क्त्वा तङ्गन्यतत्रपतितच्चाश्च। एकैकं मदादविश्रयसंस्कृतं तस्माद्वह्निणा प्रात्राणि
 प्रयुनक्ति। दक्षिणानौ निष्ठपतिपरिभाषा सर्वाप्येति संबद्धातिशास्त्रोत्तनासिलनि
 श्रयनं सिद्धं। दक्षिणतोऽग्निष्ठा न्निर्वप्यतीति किमयं गुणविधिः पाद्विकस्या न्निष्ठा न्निर्वपिष्यो
 तानियमार्थमग्निष्ठा नुवादनैस्ति चित्तयद्यत्तरः पक्षस्तदापन्या ननवतिङ्गपूर्वस्तद्वह्नि
 णाश्रतिपात्रां गुणो ननवतिपाद्विकार्यनियमाश्रितवान्योक्तस्य व्याधिश्रुतिचित्तसिद्ध
 माधिश्रयणतत्सिद्धमायवानामधिश्रयणमात्रं ननु पधानं कपालवह्णोक्तं तपादागो
 पिपवित्रां तदितं चरुवत्तु पूर्वलोतदतरोयमन्वयः। नात्राद्वायनशास्त्रीयमनोनानिष्ठा
 रयेतुवरुक्रमेण कथमन्क्रमः। पुरोराजशश्चेतच्चातु पूर्वचाद्वा सिद्धमात्रिवा सनातुव

अस्त्वचं ग्राहयतीत्यत रतेति। अपरिमिते वावकाशेऽपरिमिते वाक्यशशो विशेष
णविशेषाच्च निष्काधिकरणसमर्थः। त्रिषु प्रक्रमेष्ववकाशार्थमुत्सृष्टेषु पुपुपुपु
परिमितितरेता वावकाशं संचरति त्रिमं। प्रतिचउरात्रेति नोच्यत उक्ताष्टकं षण्मा
तद्वह्निणादित्यादि। एकोऽनुकं धमदग्धकाष्ठगो मयं वापयुदप्रतस्ती मप्रवचा
मन्त्र एपरिक्रियापदेशो तत्रस्ती मन्त्रिषा येत्यादि च त्रस्ती मधिप्रयणात्तदस
त्तद्वह्निना तावकाः प्रादशो च वतिपिष्टलेपं निनेयेत्यादि उत्तरतः। प्रोक्तणी तास्तु
त्सपगार्दपेत्यान्न वीयगृह्णाति ननु सुक्तमातिषु चाउमीं शेषु च उर्गृहीता निःश्व
भियाज प्रचति उपचरता गृह्णा प्रयाजानुयाजस्य सं गृह्णातीति एवं मन्यते। उपच

न्याधविबन्धा निवान्या५

ताचीनप्रयाजर्द्धयमर्द्धेनालुयजतमुतत्रापर्बादेषइति तदिद्वयानावादेकंचतुर्
स्त्रीतेनटक्काम्यादाहुत्रित्रयाथंनैवचतुर्दत्तौ। इवचतुर्दत्तौ। इवचतुर्दत्तौ। इवचतुर्दत्तौ।
तीतिवक्तव्येयदणं समानपात्रेप्रक्षतौ सिद्धमास्तरणं उदीरणात्प्रवृत्तिमंत्रेणस
रणंतथादिहृक्षीत्रदणंप्रक्षरेयुज्यतेविस्मोस्तुपइतिलुप्ततेध्वयुप्रक्रमपुष्टिमे
त्रासन्नवंउद्वाहानुहूयमानेयविशिष्टंयेतानुप्रसंवाक्योतीतिनिवर्त्तप्रस
रेसाधनानंतरमन्निबोध्यायाइतिऋलंक्षेत्प्यादिपाठक्रमेणउदक्कंचतुर्दत्तौ
निद्वीधितथापराणिवेदादीनिस्वादेतिहोत्राशष्टरदितोप्रयोगःकतश्चइ
तिदशप्रतितत्रावन्ततप्राचीनावीतिनातिप्रधानानां प्राचीनावीतीप्रचारःशा

ॐ

श्वं तश तउ विशतिः प्रथयथा स्थानमंत्रेण विनदा स्वसदस्यः प्रतः उपविशतिः प्रथ
 यथा स्थाने मात्राणवितदा स्वसदनस्याग्रतउपविशतिः कर्त्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः उत्तरातात्र
 स्मा किमापान्नात्तरशब्द इति यतनीयां षट् सखटिर निष्ठा राणा नक्षत्रा यदक्षिणा वद्य
 त्ति त तउ दृष्टते क्रम्य तिदक्षिणा तिष्ठ न दक्षिणा मुख इत्यर्थः ॥ इदधर्मपत्र्यस्मनु
 दविशेषमावधाय दृढा पात्री न च व तिमिति दर्शति नमंश मिजपा चोत्त वातिशकते
 कल्पयिष्ये । दैवा यज्जितियुक्तं चेतत् यदा प्रशाम्पदे वशब्द प्रयोग दक्षिणाग्निर्को । वा
 वनिकं सशं सुवाकान् पुरमा प्राप्तिर्वेदस्तराणि नित्यं च वतिउ दको जलिप्रचर्तिः अ
 न्यद्वा मादित्यनुवादः । सैत्तिष्ठिषु पिंडा उद्वाचनो वा द्रुम्या निदधाति स्मृतवाकायुतषष्ठा
 दारम्या वंचितो वाची नो स रुद्धैः पानिमा र्जुनं नो मोक्षार एकाज समं अत्रापि तर इत्यादि

स्मृत्या फोण

वचनां ते यो ज्यं तत्र ते दरी । उदरे मित्यपरेण नगौ । विवह्रितं पिंडा निति बहुवचनं । न
 मधुमपिंडं पत्नी न कृत्यतो । वदध्यापतितां वेदिस्त्रेषु त्रुणेषु दयमानेषु वेदिमध्यदशतिय
 या ॥ ७ ॥ उत्तरतो गार्हपत्ये स्ते त्पाद्य सर्ववाद्या बहुक्तं चैव कान कस्य चिद्विकारः नूत
 त्वादिषो तस्तमयतीति निर्वपिं नृक्षीमुपचारितग्रहण यथा तृक्षीमुपचारितां व
 ने ककपालानि त्मादौ । ननु यथा देवतमभिधा रयति तदा पात्र नृक्षीमभिधा रण
 सिद्धं । अग्निघ्रा रणं वक्तुं तद्यपि निर्वपिना वा देव संबधना वस्तथापि हो मका
 देवता संबाधान विष्णुत्तिातन मंत्रेण मान्द्रुति नृक्षीग्रहण मात्रं च दाज्या निर्वप
 मात्र बहु बहु दारव तत्र नृमु कर्षण योमित्यर्थः । पराची नदरती शरीरां तजप स्तीर्ष ॥
 मधुमपाम्नि सर्वेषां समवदान अथ दान धर्मैजा तद्य मोपादशा कलादवदाय पदस्य ॥ ११ ॥

तदुक्त २

चंय गा दायपु रो हा प्रा नै के कं क्षौ क्षौ वा ऽ न्न तं ता न्य जु माना य स मा च र्थ ति श्र ति नि
 र्व च ना त ए के के स च नि व प ति त द्य ज मा ना य स मा व पं ति व च नं घ ट ते स मि धा व द मे
 ती ति य क र्त्रे द्यो त्र य नः उ द्य ते ति स्मृ तिः प्र द क्षि णं त्रि रि त्प व यु ट्वा द व ट ति स्मृ त्
 द्वा णा त् इ ति र य्मा न र्थ के ति स्मृ त् प्रा ष्प स्या त् उ द स्पो द स्पो ति वी ष्प सा ब ल्क क च धा
 नु च्यु ते वि न्त ष्ट खो या चू ता धा न्न इ ति त द्यार द्या ते त क्छु ह स्य को ऽ र्थः त ए के के ऋ
 पा त्य क र्त्तृ क क्वा दं त री द्र च ना त क ष्वि दि ति ऋ रू णा द धि क मू ह्या य म र्थः धा न्नो धा
 न्न इ ति त त द्यार द्या नं ऋ ह्म णा त ए व सा म वो न न व ति ऋ दि त्पा ये त्पा दि ये त्पा दि ऋ
 प र्थ स्मि न्नि त्ने त्र ऋा दि त्पे ने ति व द्य ति त त ऋ म्पा य प्रा ङ्गी न वै त ते ने हा पि द्र ष्ट व्य
 ए ता व त् स री यी स्त्र स मि ष्ट य जु ऊ त्व ति सि ङ्गो छि रि ति उ न्न त र वे दि के ब हि र नु ब्र ह्म

रणादारञ्जेति तत्साहचर्यतियजमानं त्रेणान्यदित्यस्यष्टयकसंस्थासंतिष्ठतइत्य
 स्यान्नावाखुनासीयंचिउरुषुमासेषु फाल्गुन्याचैत्र्यावसांतवसतिसद्यः प्रतिपद्विपो
 सुमासीश्रमश्रवपनांतं रसद्य उपवसयादि। चतुर्दशचतुर्दशे गते वाचतुर्दशे दन्तपक्रम
 पंचमेयागः शीर्षीवा। वैश्वदेवनद्याख्यातमात्रेयोऽष्टाकपाजनियोगः प्राचीननि
 योगतः प्राचीनप्रवणनस्यतिकदेशोऽयं कितदिचातुर्मास्यधमास्मिंबहिः सन्नदना
 दीनां साधारणामपि स्तत्रनिर्वापत्वेन तत्र तत्र सर्वास्विष्टिषु प्रकृतविकारचैपि
 प्राचीनप्रवणमानसप्तम्येति वेदग्रहणात् प्राक्स्विष्टकृतं तनिवृत्तं --- कसुनासीय
 मानृतत्रानिदेशिका निविकल्पेष्टासद्याष्टयोनिचत्वारिंशद्यद्यप्रतिपश्चसतं दाम ११
 सन्नामान्कानिद्याख्याताशं कानिदृत्पथ्यानिता निमाकश्चित्परिगणनं यद्येन

तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं मासं बंधाद्व्यहो न्यधिकं रणेनामजुद्वीतीति द्वादशभिः सुक्तं
सधामासं ध्वर्युयद्यपि सद्यः स्फुत्तरावापोऽसौ सौ सौ स्त्रानमन्ति तथापि येन समा इति
कर्मव्यविधिमात्रे च त्रस्य यथा तन्नावाव न च इधमा बहिः सन्नदनाभावापि दपि च
शास्त्रे एव मिदं पर्वयोरंतरं तस्योमेन यजत किं तस्मिन्नेव निर्वर्णे त्पादपर्वणीति उत्तम
धस्तातुव संतत्र हणं समस्व सवीर्यं मे तो वषी सु प्राशदि च समास्तिः सर्वाग्निरिज्यते इत
रथा पर्यत्र हणं सम स्याथं स्याताय तो न सांव सरिकेऽनुनासी राणं पौः समासी समा
स्तिरमावा स्याद्यवधानात् न च पर्वशब्दस्य विद्वा ह्युवाच कस्यामे वृनिः पन्नश्च मु
पादानं युक्तं तस्मात्तयदिव सांतपर्वणी एष वीणि हूदये केयजे त दापवर्णीति पौः
मासार्थमपि युज्यते तथा च दृष्टान्ताचार्यः सवर्षवर्तिव सांतवषास्त्रिचया गगतद्यवो

च दत्तं तद्वत्तु गज्या निष्ठा रणं प्रतिपर्वणि यो मे नियतवचनात्पृथ्यं । तं समाधीयः कु
 तः ॥ अतं न एति वचनाद नं तरं मे व स्याद्यदि पर्वणीति न स्यात् ॥ ७ ॥ अथ संवत्सराणि
 अथेति चानुमस्यो तं प्रक्रां शोतिसां वस्रि को न्ये ता नि अथ दानी पं व स्या वस्रि को
 णिव कुं प्रहता स्त्रिति वैश्वा न र पृथ न्येति स्वरं तं द्विती यं पदं बहु ब्रीहिः समा म आ
 रं न एणीया तं त्रे नारं न एणीयाः संबध्य ते न पुन रा वतीति प्रति सं वस्रं यु तं चै तत् प्रयो
 गं नैदा त् प्रति सिद्धेः प्रथमः संवत्सरः सां वस्रि कैः समा नमित्पर्थं सादृशं नु हे मा सि वै
 ति पश्चात्तद्या वतीति चानुमाद । तस्यां ते या ह वै नि म्मूर्त्तं यदि फाल्गुण्या मा रं न एस्तवा
 फाल्गुण्यो व तस्यां ते - - - त्वे च्छारं न एणी स्तदा चै त्रीति त्र सिद्धिं द्विती यः ॥ सो पि फाल्गु
 ण्यारं न एः ॥ चि च्छारं न एवा यो च रा तां विश्वे देवा येति वचनात्तथा च - - - एवं सो ऽपि ॥ १५

अस्मिद्धत्पथीतस्योतेन्यासीप्रतिपतपोसमासीतस्यत्तीयस्यसंवसरेस्योते
सायेप्रतिनित्येनमुद्वयायुक्तैतद्यायेवर्जितइतिमोषवसपुस्तुपूर्वस्योतथाह
तीयइत्येतेनपूर्वस्योसुनासीरेस्योनफालुनीचैत्रीवाउत्तरातांशुनासीर्याये
पवसथादि।एतदेवसंप्रतित्रदणंज्ञाप-----मासीशब्दःसंप्रत्यवयागस्योतं
निवृत्तयेसंप्रतित्रदणान्मासमुमाग्रनीषेकादीनिपमाकृत्यादेवोसृज्जनिमि
त्यभिप्रायः॥ऋजूस्त्रीनिष्ठावजुष्टमिुतस्तुजेतेतिश्रुतेविश्वदेवनंचेत्त्रांमासमुत
स्तुजेतिक्वनाद्विचित्रारंजणपक्षेप्रसिद्धश्चतुर्थःसंवसरयथायोहो-----
तस्योतेयाष्ट्वीतस्योसुनासीर-----मात्रापिप्रसिद्धत्रदणतयापंचमःयोत्तरातं

वेचद्वे वा प्रचरति ध्यायधो तत्र सा कर्मैक्षिन्त्यपंच संवसराय सा कर्मैक्षा स्तेभ्य
 ऊर्द्धपंच वसु मासेषु वैशाख्यं ज्येष्ठ्या चोपक्रममादत अत्राहुः पंचसु मासेषु शुक्ला
 सीरे च द्यमने सुद्वौ परादृष्टेति निरुध्यते तस्या वारा हस्त्रमात्रा विरुद्धं मन्यते फा
 ल्पुन्याप - नादमी समस्य नास्त्री निष्ठा चैत्री समापयेदो यनाणंच चूर्मासा
 तरलत्रा निर्वरणे अत्रोच्यते शास्त्रं तद्वत् पंचसु मासेषु मनुना स्मृति ते यद
 वापंच वि - मासै द्वौ संवसरा विष्टो न वति इति मे धिते देशां शटत्रिंशति विना
 रस्यो च त्रविंशत्या मुपसंपादयते तमभियति - तंत्रयोदशं मासं तादयः
 पंचस्थिति त्रिदशतमं निरुत्तु नासीरेण ननु मनस्या - - - - वतस्या नेत्यर्थः १२
 प्रागं मोमनाथं सहस्रं अंश संख्या ॥ २२० ॥ कुमा रे लनाथं समाप्त ॥ ॥ ॥

॥छ॥सीवत॥६ध२प्रवर्त्तमानेदक्षिणायनेशरदस्तौकार्तिकमासे
 कृपदेऽप्रद्वेदवाराणसीवास्तव्यं॥जानीमदीधरस्तुतदेवयीकस्यपठि
 नार्थी॥॥छ॥॥छ॥उ०छाईकेनपुस्तकमिदंलक्षितं॥॥छ॥॥॥—
 लिषकपाठकयोस्तुनंनक्तु॥॥कल्याणमस्तु॥॥यादृशंपुस्तकंदृष्ट्वा
 दृशोनिषितंमया॥यदिशुद्धमशुद्धंवा मम दोषो नदीयते॥॥॥—॥॥—॥॥—

